

FRIENDS OF ACPL

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
FOR YOUNG AMERICANS

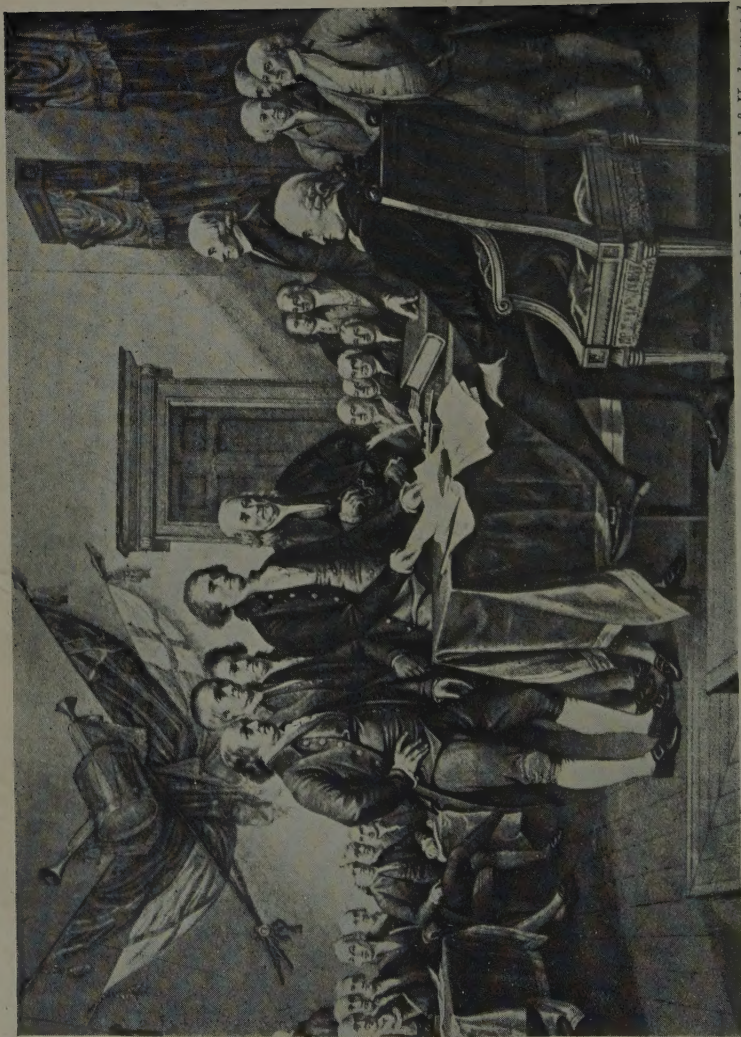
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THE COMMITTEE ON DECLARATION

Photo by Underwood & Underwood

Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston, Adams

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE FOR YOUNG AMERICANS

BY

GEORGE WILLIAM GERWIG

*Author of "Washington, The Young Leader," "Schools with
a Perfect Score," "The Art of the Short Story,"
"Chautauqua, an Appreciation," etc.*



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THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
FOR YOUNG AMERICANS

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TO ALL THOSE
WHO AS SOLDIERS OR AS CITIZENS
MAKE THE DECLARATION
AND
SUPPORT THE CONSTITUTION

FOREWORD

EVERY American schoolboy has felt his soul thrill as he listened to the immortal words of Patrick Henry:

GIVE ME LIBERTY, OR GIVE ME DEATH.

The love of liberty has been handed down to him as a blessed heritage from a long line of patriot ancestors.

He is too young, however, to feel all that this love of freedom has meant. He has not felt, in his own life, all that the patriots felt.

He has, however, burning in his heart, the same desire to be A GOOD AMERICAN that Washington and Jefferson had.

That he may feel something of the passion for freedom which those who made the Declaration of Independence felt, and that he may carry through the Junior Republic of his school days and out into his later life the feeling for service, for suffering, for self-sacrifice if necessary that the patriots felt: that he may, in his turn, follow in the footsteps of Washington, of Lincoln, of Roosevelt, and become "An American, willing that his body may suffer for his soul's desire," this book is written.

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Text of the Declaration

**Chapter I: THE BIRTHDAY OF
AMERICAN FREEDOM**

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE FOR YOUNG AMERICANS

CHAPTER I

THE BIRTHDAY OF AMERICAN FREEDOM

I. WHY WE CELEBRATE

The Fourth of July is the Birthday of the United States of America. Americans have celebrated the day for a century and a half. They hope to celebrate it for many centuries more. The first celebration, on July 4th, 1776, marked the most important event in American history and one of the most important events in the history of the world,—the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

Since that first birthday celebration many stirring deeds have been done in America on July 4th. Good Americans all hope that the Sesqui-Centennial of American freedom will be marked not only by a due regard for the glories of our past history but also by a new dedication to the higher meaning of U. S.—**UNSELFISH SERVICE** for the future.

2. THE NATION'S BIRTHDAYS, PAST, PRESENT
AND FUTURE

So Americans, young and old, as they consider the birthdays of the nation, past, present and future, also earnestly consider the foundation principles upon which their success as a nation rests.

In the immortal words of the Declaration of Independence Thomas Jefferson stated the principles upon which America is founded. These immortal words have not only been an inspiration to the freemen of America but an inspiration to all the other lovers of liberty in the world. They became the foundation upon which was erected our own self-governed Republic. That Declaration and that Republic have served ever since as models for the self-governed freemen of the world.

The genius of Thomas Jefferson consisted in his ability to put into a few burning phrases the dearest aspirations of lovers of liberty everywhere. The Declaration of Independence is full of these immortal phrases. Singly and collectively they have become battle cries wherever and whenever the battle for freedom has been fought.

Their mere statement is a clarion call to the soul. Their deeper meaning and full interpretation is a fruitful source of study for both young and old. They contain alike wisdom of the ages past and promise for centuries to come.

3. WHAT IS THE DECLARATION?

What is the Declaration of Independence, and what has it done to give it so important a place in the history of America and of the world?

The Declaration of Independence is the document which marked the separation of America from the Mother Country and the birth, as a separate nation, of the United States of America.

It is the Creed of self-governed freemen.

It is a statement of how Americans feel and think on the subject of FREEDOM.

It is the Charter of Liberty as conceived by America.

It in no way confuses liberty with license. It sets forth clearly the rights of the individual and of minorities. It sets forth with equal clearness the necessity for some organized government, for voluntary obedience and submission to this government, for the acceptance by all of the will of the majority, save only where the unalienable rights of the individual or of minorities are involved.

4. THE IMMORTAL PHRASES OF THE DECLARATION

Let us rearrange, in their simplest form, these immortal words and phrases, in order that they may be studied in detail in the light of a rapid review of some of the glorious and significant events of our history, and in order that we may more fully understand how the forefathers felt on the subject of freedom.

We hold these truths to be self-evident—

*That ALL MEN are CREATED EQUAL;
That they are endowed BY THEIR CREA-
TOR with certain UNALIENABLE
RIGHTS:*

That, among these, are

LIFE

LIBERTY

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

*That, to secure these rights, governments are
instituted among men,*

*Deriving their just powers from the Consent
of the Governed;*

*That, whenever any form of government be-
comes destructive of these ends, it is
the right of THE PEOPLE to alter or
abolish it, and to institute a new gov-
ernment, laying its foundation on such
principles, and organizing its powers in
such form, as to them shall seem most
likely to effect their safety and happi-
ness.*

*We, therefore, do, in the name and by the
authority of the good people of these
Colonies, solemnly publish and declare
That these United States are, and of
right ought to be, Free and Independent
States;*

*That they are absolved from all allegiance
to the British crown;*

*That all political connection between them
and the State of Great Britain is, and
ought to be, totally dissolved:*

That, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.

For the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other

OUR LIVES

OUR FORTUNES

OUR SACRED HONOR.

Chapter II: FREEDOM

CHAPTER II

FREEDOM

I. THE KINDS OF FREEDOM

Every true American has felt his soul thrill when he heard the immortal words of Patrick Henry, "Give me Liberty, or give me Death."

But it is over a century and a half since those words were spoken. The American schoolboy, his parents and his grandparents have been free all that time. They have held and enjoyed the five great rights:

1. Freedom of person
2. Freedom to prove their innocence at a public trial by a jury of their equals
3. Freedom of worship
4. Freedom of speech
5. Freedom to hold property safely and securely.

Unless such a boy can imagine himself back in the times of his forefathers he cannot understand their passion for Liberty. He will have to go back, not only to Patrick Henry and the Declaration of Independence but will have to go on back across the sea to Great Britain and across many centuries to understand how deeply his ancestors felt about being free. He himself has never suffered for freedom, much less been in any danger of dying. He will have to picture for himself why they suffered and how they died.

2. THE DESIRE FOR FREEDOM

Let us go back then 860 years to William the Conqueror. The Normans came over to England and near Hastings conquered the English. On Christmas Day, 1066, William was crowned King of England. In order that the lords and barons of England might not become too powerful William made every freeman, noble or common, swear he would be faithful to the king against all others. If any one started war against the king all were bound by oath to support him. William established order and brought to England what France and Italy had learned.

Englishmen were far from being free even two centuries later. If a man had been accused of stealing a sheep, but swore that he was innocent, and brought several men to swear that he was telling the truth the court might release him. But if the court were doubtful the man might be bound hand and foot and thrown into a pit of water blessed by the priest. If he sank it was considered proof from God that he was innocent. He was rescued and set free. But if he floated he was considered guilty. Or the court might decide to try him by fire, and place a pound of red-hot iron, blessed by the priest, in his hand, which he must carry three paces. His hand would then be bandaged. If after three days there was found a blister as large as a walnut he was considered guilty.

The accused might be given another form of trial. He and the one who accused him might be given clubs or swords. If he was beaten in this trial by conflict

he was considered guilty. It was only in the middle of the twelfth century that a better and fairer way was found of trying people, which later developed into a trial by twelve of his equals or peers, who, because they took an oath, were called jurors.

King John, of England, was an evil, selfish king. To obtain money he taxed his people very heavily. He had wealthy people falsely accused, threw them into prison, and fined them. Many who hid their money were tortured until they surrendered it. Enemies of the king and even former friends were thrown into prison and kept there for years. Englishmen knew they had certain rights. So in 1215 the barons set down a list of these rights, the right to life, liberty and property. This document, known as the Magna Charta or Great Charter, King John was forced to sign. Ever since that date English kings have been obliged to recognize that they could not put to death, banish or imprison any person without a legal trial by his peers or equals; that they could not unlawfully seize property; that there could be no taxation without the consent of the people's representatives. One king, Charles I, who refused to recognize these rights, was tried, condemned and beheaded.

For centuries Englishmen have also wished to be free to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. The Church of England was the only church allowed by the government under King James I. But the Puritans were not satisfied with the Church of England. They did not want the clergymen to be called "Priests" nor to wear the white linen robe

of their office. They wanted to "purify" the Church. There were also a number of Independents, who did not believe the Church could be purified. So, leaving the Church of England, they formed a new church.

King James I told both the Puritans and the Independents that, unless they worshiped as the Church of England required he would drive them out of England. Many Englishmen were reading their Bible for themselves. Nearly three hundred ministers gave up their churches rather than worship as the king wished. The English people on their part were demanding more and more liberty. King James I and King Charles I were insisting that they ruled the people by what they called divine right, or by authority direct from God.

One group of Englishmen went to Holland, where they knew they could worship freely. They called themselves "Pilgrims" because they were on a pilgrimage "to the heavens, their dearest country." They remained in Holland nearly twelve years, with their own church, their own pastor and their own form of worship. But they had to work too hard in Holland. Their children were growing up with Dutch instead of English habits, and had to go to work so young that the Pilgrims at last concluded it would be better to go to America, where they might also worship God as they wished and where their children would have a better chance. So they sailed to America in the *Mayflower*, and landed at Plymouth. It was the search of Youth for Freedom. No other English colony had so many young people, more than one third of them being children. During the cold, hard winter over one hun-

dred died, mostly the older people, thus leaving the colony more than ever in the hands of young people.

3. SEARCH FOR FREEDOM BY THE COLONIES

Freedom for their lives, freedom from persecution, freedom from unjust taxes and freedom of worship, freedom of speech were not the only forms of freedom for which our forefathers felt a need. During the early winters, especially in New England, they had to secure freedom, not only from want but from starvation itself. Although New England was farther south than England the winters were much more severe. The shores were rocky and the soil was poor. The growing season was short and they had to learn new ways of raising food. The Indians raised and used corn, which was unknown in England. Indians parched the kernels and carried these in their pouches when hunting. They taught the Pilgrims how to plant a few kernels of seed corn in a little hill, with a few fish at the bottom to provide a fertilizer. At one time the Pilgrims were so short of food that they were allowed only five grains of corn a day. And many years afterwards, when America had grown and prospered because the early settlers overcame their difficulties and secured their freedom the Pilgrims would place five grains of corn beside their plates at banquets in memory of their early struggles.

Even freedom for themselves was not all. In 1619 a Dutch trading vessel brought twenty negroes from

Africa to Virginia and sold them to work as slaves in the tobacco fields. In this way human slavery was introduced into America, and was continued until Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves during the Civil War.

So the freedom which American children enjoy today has cost their forefathers centuries of service, of suffering, of sacrifice.

Let us now try to picture for ourselves some of the gradual steps forward in the long search for freedom and independence.

4. CONFLICTS BETWEEN INTOLERANCE AND FREEDOM

In 1588 England had just won a great victory over the Spanish Armada. The nobles, the traders and the workmen all wanted their country to become greater. Since Great Britain was but a small island it could become a great Empire only by establishing colonies. These colonies must be a living part of the Mother Country. So Sir Walter Raleigh and other great Englishmen undertook to establish colonies in Virginia, in New England, in Maryland, and in Pennsylvania.

Great Britain has for centuries been a seafaring, liberty-loving, venturesome, trading and colonizing nation. Her people have always loved to be pioneers, faring forth in search of adventure. For many nations, America was then, as it has been since, The Promised Land. After every great war life seems tame to daring spirits. Some wanted to come to America because they believed they would find more freedom

and a better chance there for themselves and particularly for their children; some wanted free land on which to raise their food; some wanted to search for gold, or to trade with the Indians; some wanted to explore; some wanted to find a shorter—a Northwest Passage to India.

More important than all these reasons was the desire for freedom of worship. Thousands went to New England, to Maryland and to Pennsylvania in the seventeenth century because they were determined to find a place where they might be free to worship God as their consciences bade. Oddly enough, however, while each insisted upon his own right to worship in his own way they were often unwilling to allow their neighbors the same right. It has taken centuries of sacrifice and often of bloodshed to establish not merely the right of each one to worship as he wishes, but the willingness that all shall have the same right.

The Pilgrims, for example, decided that each congregation should determine how it wished to worship, without interference by either bishop or king. But Massachusetts drove out the Quakers, who wished to worship in their own way. And the Virginia colonists, insisting on their own freedom of worship, at the same time insisted that all others must attend the Episcopal Church, and expelled the Puritans.

To Lord Baltimore belongs the great honor of establishing a colony, Maryland, in 1634, where, for the first time, each of the different kinds of Christians had the right to worship in his own way. He was a Catholic, and sent many settlers to Maryland because Cath-

olics were not then allowed to hold meetings in England. But he also sent to America more Protestants than Catholics, and for half a century both worshiped in peace each in his own way. Rhode Island followed in 1636, the second colony to establish freedom of worship. And William Penn, in 1681, established Pennsylvania, where Quakers might worship as they wished, and where other religions had the same right.

Freedom to worship God came slowly, but it came at last. It is because all men worship some Higher Power in some way that the right of freedom of worship has always been one of the most cherished of human rights.

5. EXPERIENCES IN THE USE OF FREEDOM

We have seen how the hunger for freedom had been driving men forward in many ways for centuries, and how gladly they undertook all manner of hardship if only they and their children might have this freedom.

But, deeply as they desired freedom, the danger and expense of going to America alone was too great. So the forefathers began to learn one of their hardest lessons. How could each one of them be absolutely free and yet work with others, each of whom had the same desire to be free? How could all work together for the protection and welfare of all?

They organized companies to work together, at the same time protecting the rights of each member. Each company secured a charter from the king. In 1606, charters were given to two such companies, one called the London Company and the other the Plymouth

Company. Each was given the right to plant a colony on the Atlantic coast of North America. The London Company planted the first successful English colony in America. One hundred five colonists sailed in three small ships, going up the James River thirty-two miles, so as to be safe from attacks by Spaniards, and in 1607, the third most important date in American history, founded a settlement at Jamestown.

The most important part of these charters was that they granted to the English colonists and their children the same rights and the same freedom that those born and living in England enjoyed. Queen Elizabeth had previously granted these same rights to those colonies whom Sir Walter Raleigh had sent to America, but who had been unsuccessful.

Among the most important of the rights which the people of England at this time claimed, and which the colonies in America later demanded were:

1. The right to have taxes imposed only by their own representatives.
2. The right to be represented in the bodies which made their laws.

The Virginia colonists landed at Jamestown early in May. Their records tell of the flowers, the strawberries, the birds, and the abundant game. The Indians were friendly, showing them their dances. The supplies brought from England were soon exhausted, however, and the settlers faced first want and then starvation. Three or four colonists died in one night, and forty-six died before September, most of them from starvation. A file of Indians brought them corn, fish

and venison, saving the lives of the remainder. Two years later a number of the colonists who were starving left Jamestown and went with the Indians to live. Neither Indians nor White Men could find anything but oysters to eat for eight weeks. At last all the colonists, weary of the "starving time," went aboard a vessel, determined to abandon their search for freedom and return to England. But when they reached the mouth of the James River they were met by supply ships with food from England and they returned to Jamestown.

The London Company sent other colonists, among them a shipload of young women, in 1619. If a Virginia colonist could secure the consent of the girl, and would give the London Company 120 pounds of tobacco in payment of her passage from England, he might have a wife. So Virginia changed from a colony of men settlers to a colony of homes.

Among the first Virginia settlers were four carpenters, a blacksmith, a barber, a mason, a tailor, a number of laborers and four boys, as well as a number of gentlemen who had never worked with their hands. Captain John Smith was president of the Jamestown colony during its second year. His good sense and ability saved the colonists. He established a custom for which America has ever since been noted. He knew that in a pioneer country nobody could rightfully be free from work. So he forced both laborers and gentlemen to do something useful. No one was allowed to eat unless he worked. Some went to the oyster banks and dug oysters, some planted corn, some cut wood, or dug a well, or helped build a fort, instead of spending their time searching for gold.

The Indians taught the settlers many things about hunting and fishing, about planting and about food. They also learned much from the settlers. Some of the Indians insisted upon planting gunpowder, at which they greatly wondered, and were surprised that it would not grow.

Captain John Smith once lost his freedom, being captured by the Indians and taken before their chief, Powhatan, who insisted that he must be killed. When Captain Smith's head had been fastened to a stone and the Indians had their clubs ready to beat out his brains, Pocahontas begged for his life. Her father, Powhatan, would not listen. When she saw the clubs raised Pocahontas took his head in her arms and laid her own head upon his, to save him from death. Powhatan then spared Smith's life, adopted him into the tribe, and later let him return to Jamestown. Pocahontas was from that time a friend of the settlers. She later married John Rolfe, an English gentleman, and in 1616 visited England, where she was given a royal reception as the daughter of a king.

In 1619 there was taken in Virginia the first step toward the kind of representative government which we have in America to-day. Each of the chief settlements in Virginia chose two representatives to make laws for them. These representatives formed the House of Burgesses, which had its first meeting at Jamestown in 1619.

Five years later the king made Virginia a royal colony, taking away the charter of the London Company.

These colonies brought from England the English language, English books, chief among them the Bible, the home life, the law, the customs, especially their belief in and reverence for God, all the arts which the centuries had taught, including the arts of spinning and weaving wool and linen, of tanning, of shipbuilding, of the use of gunpowder and of arms, the Arabic numerals, the knowledge of domestic animals, of seeds and plant life.

But more important they brought the love of liberty and independence, the ability to work together for the common welfare, and the determination to suffer and to die if necessary rather than to lose for themselves and their children the rights of freemen.

Before the Pilgrims who sailed in the *Mayflower* landed at Plymouth they drew up and signed one of the most important of American papers, the Mayflower Compact. Much as they desired freedom they knew that there could be no freedom for all if each one was allowed to do exactly as he wished. In order to secure and preserve real freedom there must be order and some kind of government. So they took two very important steps. The first, in their own words, was to "*solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together.*"

This was for the purpose of establishing a civil body to carry out the plan of the colony, to establish and preserve order, and to enact just and equal laws for the general good of the colony. The second step, one

of the most necessary and important for any body of freemen, was voluntarily to

"Promise All Due Submission and Obedience"

to these laws.

These two steps, the establishment of just law and order for the benefit of all and the voluntary obedience to this law, are the foundation of the American, and of every other worthy Republic.

We do not usually realize that a century and a half passed between the signing of the Mayflower Compact and the signing of the Declaration of Independence. This is almost the same number of years as have passed from July 4, 1776, to the present time.

The Massachusetts colony faced want, starvation and death the same as the Virginians. In addition they faced bitter New England winters, poorer soil, and a shorter growing season. Sometimes the Indians were friendly. In March, 1621, one of them, Samoset, boldly appeared among the Pilgrims and said "Welcome, Englishmen!" He had learned a little English from fishermen who had visited the New England coast. Samoset and the Pilgrims learned much from each other. The Indians, who had only stone tools, wondered at the axes with which the Pilgrims could so quickly cut down a tree. Some Indians watched them chopping, and ran away with the axes as soon as the Pilgrims were gone. Later they brought the tools back again.

Samoset told the Pilgrims that a tribe of Indians, who had cleared the fields the Pilgrims found, had died of the plague four years before. He brought Squanto, the only one of the tribe who was left. Squanto had been taken to England and was living in London during the plague. He learned English there, but returned with the captain of a fishing vessel and hunted up the home of his tribe. But, finding no one alive to greet him, he stayed with the Pilgrims until his death.

Squanto showed them where fish could best be caught and how to plant corn in hills. The Pilgrims had found and paid for ten bushels of seed corn which had been buried by the Indians. Following Squanto's advice the Pilgrims planted twenty acres and raised a crop large enough to feed them during the winter.

The Pilgrims usually treated the Indians fairly and believed in peace. With Squanto and Samoset as interpreters they made a treaty with Massasoit, a great chief, agreeing that the white men and the Indians should never harm each other, but should each aid the other if a third party declared unjust war upon either one, and that anything stolen by either race should be returned. Both parties kept this treaty faithfully, Massasoit warning the Pilgrims when other tribes of Indians became hostile to them.

Once, when Massasoit became ill and expected to die, one of the Pilgrims nursed and fed him properly, and saved his life. "Now I see," said Massasoit, "that the English are my friends. I will never forget this kindness." And he never did.

In 1621 the Pilgrims invited the Indians to join in the first Thanksgiving Day. The corn had been safely

harvested. Young hunters had been sent into the woods, where they found plenty of wild turkeys, partridges, ducks, rabbits and quail. The Indians brought five deer for the feast and enjoyed themselves so much that they stayed three days visiting and playing games with the Pilgrims.

Sometimes foolish men, in each of the colonies, would cause trouble by trading firearms or liquor to the Indians for furs. This would result in disturbing the peace between the colonists and the Indians and in endangering the lives of the settlers.

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From the first the Pilgrims made their own laws and governed themselves. They were acting under a charter from the King which gave them the rights of Englishmen. They held town meetings, as they had previously done in England. They elected their own officers. These officers levied taxes, built roads, conducted schools and attended to such other matters as concerned the welfare of the people. Neither the King, his ministers nor the people of England knew much about the real needs of the colonists. Through their town meetings they got constant practice in the art of governing themselves.

Colonists kept coming from England. In 1630 Boston was founded, and in the next ten years nearly twenty thousand Puritans came to America, making Massachusetts a large and prosperous colony, and founding smaller colonies in New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut. They brought to America, as did the colonies in Virginia, the same things the centuries had taught English freemen, a determination to

worship God as they wished, to govern themselves and to levy their own taxes. They brought a deep respect for the Bible and its teachings and made this the basis of their lives.

While the Virginia and the New England colonies were alike in much of the life that they brought from the Mother Country, in their love of freedom, in their determination to govern themselves, and in the habits of self-government which their new pioneer life taught them, they differed in one important particular. In New England, because of the cold winters, the short growing seasons, and the poor soil, the colonists settled in towns, and soon took up manufacturing and trading. Their town life made schools easier to conduct. Many of the New England colonists were university men. Most of them were well educated. All were eager to learn. The problems which came before them were comparatively simple. Each was qualified to vote intelligently upon these problems. There was from the very beginning a substantial equality among them.

The Virginians on the other hand, were, from the beginning, divided into separate groups. There was the group who had been landed gentry in England, who represented the best traditions of English life, who wished to secure plantations and large estates in America, and who wished to control those who tilled the land. Then there were servants, bound to their masters by what was called indenture because, not having any money, they had agreed to work thus until their passage money was repaid. And soon there were negro slaves. Large estates could be secured with ease.

The Indians caused less trouble than in New England and hence there was not the same necessity for combined defense. Tobacco and corn were easily and profitably raised. The bays, inlets, and rivers provided an easy means of getting about by boats. Virginia products were sent to England and there exchanged for such manufactured products as the colonists needed. Roads were poor and remained poor for years. Between different classes there were fixed inequalities of opportunity and, more important, of education. It was practically impossible to have good public schools.

It is deeply significant of America and of life that in New England, where conditions were so hard, there developed strength and skill, in individuals, in towns and cities, in states, while in Virginia, where conditions were easier, there was almost nothing left of Jamestown itself when a century had passed.

But the independent spirit in the hearts of the people was the same in Virginia and in New England. As the English kings became more intolerant and as the people of England became more insistent on their rights the colonists in their turn learned and practiced more and more the rights and obligations of freemen and the self-control which was necessary if they were to successfully govern themselves. All that the experience of the centuries had taught Englishmen, added to all of the pioneer experiences of the colonists, made them realize more clearly that certain truths were self-evident. There were certain rights which no man could take from another man and which no king and no government could take from the people.

To Thomas Jefferson belongs the honor of stating these truths and declaring these rights so simply, yet so unanswerably, that, in the Declaration of Independence, they became not only the watchword of the American patriots, but the watchword of the freemen of the world.

Let us see what these truths and these rights are, and something of the circumstances relating to each.

Chapter III: THE MEANING OF THE DECLARATION

CHAPTER III

THE MEANING OF THE DECLARATION

I. ALL MEN

There are two short but immortal phrases in the English language; one is in The Lord's Prayer, the other is in the Declaration of Independence. The first is *Our Father*, which combines a universal belief in God with universal brotherhood. The second is *all men*, which considers human beings everywhere upon an equal footing as children of God, and hence brothers. Americans are not alone in this feeling of brotherhood. Select souls, seers and poets of every nation and of every age have felt it. Robert Burns, the Scottish poet, said

“A man's a man, for a' that.”

Countless others before and since have voiced the feeling. It has been the watchword ever of the freemen of the world. They have ever claimed the liberty that was the right of sons of God. They have ever claimed this liberty, not for themselves alone, but for *all men*. They believe that:

“He hath created of one blood all men.”

Englishmen and Americans alike, and later lovers of liberty from every land have felt through the centuries this desire for freedom combined with brotherhood. They have ever been ready to suffer and to die, if necessary, rather than to surrender this divine right to liberty and equality. In the Declaration of Independence Thomas Jefferson stated the deepest feelings of more men on the desire for freedom in fewer and nobler words than they were ever stated before. And Good Americans, ever since, have striven, have suffered, have sacrificed to make these magic words true for *all men*.

The pioneer life developed the spirit of independence and self-government. Its dangers developed a spirit of working together for mutual safety and protection. Towns in the North were often obliged to join forces against sudden attacks of the Indians. Counties in the South also worked together for the welfare of all. In 1643 the New England Confederation was formed between the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven colonies for better protection against the Indians, the French and the Dutch. All four colonies benefited by the union. They shared the burdens together, each colony supplying money and soldiers in proportion.

In 1754 the Albany Congress was formed to discuss questions of defense and security, and to make a treaty with the Iroquois Indians. The English settlers kept moving West, which brought them more and more in conflict with the French settlements.

The French and Indian War in 1754-1763 further developed the confidence of the settlers in their ability to govern and defend themselves. A large body of colonial troops fought side by side, and learned their own strength as well as the shortcomings of the British regulars. George Washington learned at Braddock's Field how well American troops could fight. Many officers received experience and training which became of great value in the Revolution later. The New England town meetings, always active, capable and intelligent, especially the town meetings of Boston, taught the colonists to think and to act together. Samuel Adams was called "The man of the Town Meeting," and was its leading spirit. The feeling of discontent with England spread from Boston out among the surrounding towns. England passed the Navigation Laws, limiting the rights of American vessels, and the Stamp Act, imposing a tax without American consent. Both of these added to the feeling of unrest. The Boston Tea Party was the result of the Stamp Act. In 1772 Samuel Adams moved, in the Boston town meeting, that a committee be appointed to state the rights of the colonies, publish them to the other towns and to the world, and to request of each town a free communication on the subject. They insisted that taxation without representation was tyranny. Other colonies followed, and Thomas Jefferson, stating that all the colonies were equally interested in resisting the British claims, urged that they unite.

The First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia September 5, 1774. A Declaration of Rights was

drawn up, and sent to the various colonies. It stated that :

“By the immutable laws of nature the colonies were entitled to life, liberty and property; That the foundation of English liberty and of all free government is the right of the people to participate in their legislative council; and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances cannot properly be represented in the British Parliament they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures . . . in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of the sovereign.”

They did admit, however, that British Parliament might make laws governing trade and commerce between the colonies, the Mother Country, and other Nations.

Articles of Association were drawn agreeing not to import any goods from Great Britain. The First Congress finally adopted resolutions stating that if England continued to enforce the measures to which they objected all the colonies would aid Massachusetts in resisting.

Perhaps no words ever spoken more fully expressed the deepest feelings in the hearts of the early patriots than the immortal words of Patrick Henry at this time :

“They tell us, sir, that we are weak,—unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But

when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of Hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?

“Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us.

“Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the valiant, the active and the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery. Our chains are forged. Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston. The war is inevitable. And let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come!

“It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace. The war is actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears

the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field. Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!"

The gales that swept from the north brought the clashes of arms at Lexington, at Concord, at Bunker Hill!

The obnoxious laws were not repealed, but instead England took measures to carry them out by armed force. The people of the colonies became more determined to resist, and began collecting military supplies. The British attempted to destroy the supplies stored at Concord. Paul Revere made his famous ride. The Americans rallied and met the British troops at Lexington and Concord in April, 1775.

Washington, when he heard of the conflict, asked "Did the colonials fight?" and seemed thoroughly satisfied with the result. Troops were at once sent to the aid of Massachusetts from New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut. Boston was in a state of siege. The Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in May. It consisted largely of men who had long been active in asserting and defending the rights of the colonists in previous meetings and in the First Continental Congress. Among them were Robert Morris and Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania;

Thomas Jefferson and Richard Henry Lee of Virginia; Samuel Adams, John Adams and John Hancock of Massachusetts.

The Congress at once recognized that a state of war existed, and assumed full responsibility. They accepted the army of troops from the various colonies which had gathered about Boston, named it the Continental Army, and appointed George Washington as Commander-in-chief. It drew up a Declaration of Causes, stating that the colonists took up arms against the Mother Country in order to resist oppressive measures and to protect their rights as freemen. While taking the full responsibility for war Congress at the same time endeavored to bring about peace. It sent to the King a petition again asking redress of grievances, justice, and their rights as English colonists. But their petition was in vain. So the authority of the king and parliament was set aside and Congress took upon itself all sovereign powers not exercised by the different colonial legislatures. Needful laws for defense were passed and later help was sought through treaties with other countries.

It will be seen, therefore, that the colonists were forced either to defend the rights which Englishmen had held for years, and which they themselves had been granted and had exercised under their charters, or to abandon them. Their decision, though slowly reached, was decisive.

The American colonies were not at first seeking independence. British usurpation upon American rights had brought on the war, but even the war was

not generally expected to lead to independence. Few of the members of the Second Continental Congress expected separation. Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee of Virginia were eager for both war and independence. Samuel and John Adams of Massachusetts seemed to expect both. The people in general, however, were slow to renounce allegiance to the King.

Circumstances, however, caused the feeling of independence to grow rapidly. Not only did the king make no reply to the last appeal of Congress, but he refused even to see Richard Penn, the colonial representative. Instead a royal declaration was issued announcing that America was to be crushed by armed forces. Reinforcements were sent to the British army and navy, and 17,000 Hessians were hired. No single action aroused the colonists so deeply as sending Hessian hirelings to fight against them. Falmouth, Me., was burned by a British frigate and Norfolk, Va., was bombarded and burned. The *Gaspee*, a British schooner, which had been seizing American vessels in Newport Harbor, was captured and destroyed. The Americans turned from an attitude of petition to one of defiance. The right of the king to demand further allegiance was attacked and set aside. The people of Virginia, stirred by the burning of Norfolk, instructed their representative, Richard Henry Lee, to present to Congress a resolution of independence. This he did and a committee was composed of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert Livingston. Adams and Jefferson were appointed a sub-committee—each of whom afterwards became President, and both of whom died

on the same day, July 4, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration.

"You can write ten times better than I can," urged Adams. So to Thomas Jefferson came the immortal honor of writing one of the greatest documents in human history.

Jefferson was admirably fitted for the task. Like Abraham Lincoln he got ready—and the chance came. He was well educated, having for years studied carefully what had been done and written in the world's struggle for freedom. He had, like Patrick Henry and his comrades, the burning spirit of a lover of liberty. He was a gifted orator. He knew the hearts of his countrymen and of the freemen of the world. He was familiar with the classic words in which these liberties had been stated, and with the daring deeds by which they had been defended. So he was able to pen those magic words which have sounded the call of freedom for America and for all those desiring to be the self-governed freemen of the world.

With but few changes the words of Jefferson were approved, and adopted by Congress on the evening of July 4, 1776.

The people had long been waiting in the streets outside of Independence Hall. The old ringer stood, waiting eagerly for the signal.

"They will never do it! They will never do it!" he muttered. Liberty Bell, with its command from Leviticus, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," was silent.

"Ring! Ring!" came the word.

And it rang out the glad tidings that the *Declaration of Independence* had been signed.

2. CREATED EQUAL

Are all men really created equal? If the immortal words of Thomas Jefferson are not true they are worse than of no value. They would merely delude men into a false belief.

Every schoolboy knows that there are countless ways in which people are not equal. They are not equal in size, in strength, in ability. They are not, in many ways, equal at birth, during their lives, or at death. They are not equal in wealth. Children often appear to be equal in bodily strength or in mental ability. But as they grow older one becomes stronger, the other weaker.

Many have said, from time to time, that the words of the Declaration are wrong, and that all men are not now and never have been equal. The French people, who have a gift for exact expression superior in many ways to the English, have, in their document, corresponding to our Declaration, made what many regard as a more correct statement. They say:

“All men are created with certain equal and inalienable political rights.”

But is this the truth, and the whole truth? Would Americans be willing to accept this, and only this, instead of their Declaration? Is it only in having certain

equal political rights that men are created equal? Are they equal in no other way?

When a genius has made a statement which the world has recognized and accepted it should not be set aside without the most careful consideration. This is especially true if it involves one of the most deep-seated feelings of man, the love of freedom.

The ways in which people are unlike and unequal are not of great importance. There is one way, however, in which they are equal. This way is so vital that beside it all others are unimportant. It is a way which neither the years nor eternity itself will change.

It is a way in which every child is the equal of every other child, a way in which every human being, of whatever age or nation, is the equal of every other human being. Hence this great essential way in which all men are created equal is of such supreme importance that all the minor ways in which they are either born or become unequal are of little or no real consequence.

The American belief is that all men are created by God, our Father. Plants and animals are also created by God, but they are not equal to man. When man was created, he was given something which was not given to either plants or to animals. He was given, direct from his Father, a certain portion, or germ of His Own, or the Divine Life. This special portion of the Divine Life was given to all men, and to nothing but man. Wherever man has lived, in whatever age or country, he has recognized dimly or clearly that he, and he alone, had a little of this Divine Life. This

germ of the Divine Life separated man from all other created things. And it is this Divine Life, which he received or inherited direct from the Father which makes him Brother to all other men. This Divine part of his life begins with his earliest existence, and lasts through eternity. This Divine germ of the life of the spirit is what marks all men as the sons of God, and as Brothers. Man calls this part of the Divine Life which he inherits direct from God his Soul or Spirit. The Soul is that part of the life of man which is Divine and immortal.

The souls of all men are equal in the sight of God. Americans recognize that in all matters which in any way relate to the soul all men are created equal. In comparison with this great essential truth the matters of body, of mind, or of material things in which they are unequal are of no real importance. They are all members of one great human family, differing, of course, in many minor ways, but all created with equal rights to that part of their Divine inheritance which comes to every human being direct from the Father of all men.

If we give this Divine germ of the life of the Spirit proper food and exercise it will grow, and will, slowly, but surely, become more and more like the Father. If we neglect to give the Divine part of our lives food and exercise it will weaken, and almost, but not quite, die. For it is Divine and Immortal. The Divine and equal portion of the lives of men never dies.

In every age, and in every nation a few select spirits have recognized that they were sons of God and

brothers to all mankind. In America and in the republics which have followed America all men recognize this.

Americans believe that every child is born with his portion of the Divine Life, given to him by the Creator. This constitutes his Divine birthright—a right which no one can take from him. The rights which cluster around this Divine inheritance are like, but greater than the equal rights which he inherits from his own human father, along with each member of his own family. The Declaration calls them his *unalienable* rights, the rights which no individual or no government can take away. Rather than give up these rights the free-born men of the world have always been willing to give up life itself. For this human life is only temporary. But the Divine Life is eternal. In proportion as he keeps life free and true in this world will it be of value in eternity. Nothing that happens to the body or to the worldly possessions of a freeman really counts. His Soul is and must be kept forever free. Every child must be given a whole chance to develop and to train a free soul.

All this is included in what Thomas Jefferson and the forefathers had in mind when they said:

“WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL; THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS.”

Let us see how they felt and what they meant by *unalienable rights*.

3. LIFE

The first and greatest of the human rights is the right to life. If any king gave a human being life he might possibly have the right to take it away. If any government could create human life it might claim the right to end it without the consent or the fault of a citizen.

The beginning of life has been the subject of perhaps more study than anything else in the world. Men have tried for thousands of years, in every possible way, to create life artificially. No man has ever succeeded. Men have watched life grow, after it has been started, in plants, in animals, in children. But no man has ever been able to create the germ of life. A scientist may analyze an acorn. But

“Only God can make a tree.”

Men, therefore, have been forced to recognize a Creator. Wherever there has been found any record of human life there has also been found a recognition, in some form, of a Higher Power.

The forefathers, therefore, believed that since neither king nor government nor any one else could create life, the right to life could not arbitrarily be taken away, but was held equally by all men.

Ever since Cain there have been men who took the lives of their brothers. There have been countless kings who claimed that they received in some way, by birth or otherwise, from their Creator, what they called the divine right of kings,—the right to rule over the

lives and even to take the lives of their fellows, whom they called their subjects. One of the most difficult things in the world has always been to give each man his own rights, and at the same time to prevent any one from usurping the rights of others. Some people have, or think they have, the ability to lead others. When they are permitted to lead they soon wish to rule. If they are permitted to rule they are apt to regard their comrades as subjects and soon to ignore and to violate their rights. The same thing that is true of boys is true of men and of governments. They tend to become autocrats and tyrants if allowed to exercise unlimited power over others. So the experience of the ages has taught us that when we give any one authority over others we must establish certain rules, like the rules of a game. We must decide when certain authority over others is to be given, why it is given, how long it is to be held, and how it may be taken back.

But there are some things so important that they are never given up. The right of each man to these cannot be taken away. They are a portion of his inheritance from his Father. They relate closely to the life of his Soul. They are his Divine rights, and are unalienable. Life is the chief of these.

When a wicked king, therefore, like King John, usurped the rights of his subjects and took or endangered their lives, the barons combined against him and forced him to sign the Great Charter, with its guarantees of the rights to life, liberty and property. Of course they felt very deeply about this, for they all risked their own lives in opposing the king.

That same passion for freedom went into every line of the Declaration of Independence. When, as it was being signed, some one said: "We must all hang together," Benjamin Franklin replied, "Yes, or we will all hang separately!" When the American colonists were taunted with being "rebels" they replied that their British fathers themselves had to become rebels in order to wrest from a tyrant king the right to life and to those liberties which all Englishmen later held so dear.

For centuries, back through the history of freemen, in Great Britain, in Switzerland with William Tell, in America, everywhere has been the joyous willingness of freemen to risk and lose their lives if necessary, in order to hold, for themselves and their children, the first of the great unalienable rights, the right to *life*.

4. LIBERTY

Freemen have always known that life itself was worthless without that which gave life value—Liberty. There is something in the very Soul of man which demands that he must be free. When man was given life by the Creator he was also given freedom. There was something in that germ of Divine Life which required liberty for its full development. The Creator could have been an autocrat, or even a tyrant and have made fixed laws, absolutely requiring all created things to live in accordance with those laws, without any free will of their own. We think of Him rather as a Father, giving to each of His children Freedom of

choice. That freedom of choice may lead to mistakes, but it will also lead to strength.

As the germ of Divine Life has grown and developed in the lives and souls of freemen they recognized that, next to life itself, and even to be preferred to their life on earth, was this freedom, which was a vital part of their eternal life. So freemen everywhere have come, through the centuries, to feel that liberty is the second of the rights which no man, no king, no government, may take away, except as the right to it is forfeited; that this liberty is one of the original rights; that it is God-given; that all men have equal right to it and that a freeman is bound to respect in all others the same right of freedom which he claims for himself.

Every one knows how hard it is to respect the rights of all others while striving to maintain his own rights. While America is not perfect, and while men of other nations and whole nations repeatedly, in the past, have suffered and died where necessary in defense of their right to freedom, no people have, as a whole, done better in conceding liberty to others, and in open-minded tolerance and sympathy for the rights of others than Americans.

A respect for the liberty of others has always been more difficult to secure and maintain than even a respect for their lives. Men will always defend their lives more vigorously than they will their liberties. Tyrants know this. So, little by little, they usurp the liberties of their comrades or of their subjects.

History is full of attempts of tyrants to encroach on the liberties of their fellow men. From the earliest days strong men have bent their weaker brethren to do their will. There must always be leaders, and there must always be those who follow. No game can have all captains. Every child knows what happens on the playground when everybody wants to be the leader, and also what happens when there is nobody to lead. The freemen of the world, like the boys of the world, have discovered the disadvantages of these two extreme conditions. They have, through the centuries, worked out a way of deciding just who shall lead and who shall follow. One leads, by the consent of his comrades. He leads because they are not only willing that he should lead, but also because most of them realize that with him as a leader and the others as subordinates or followers the particular game or enterprise will go better and more nearly to the satisfaction of all than in any other way. The genius of freemen has always expressed itself not only in selecting their own leaders from among those best qualified for the thing in hand, but also in displacing leaders when they proved unsatisfactory and in putting others in their places. Boys find to-day that one who is well qualified to be captain in one game is only suited to be a private in the next. The captain of the ball team may sing only a small part in the chorus. So gradually they develop a way of finding the best leaders for each enterprise, of changing leaders, of taking turns in leadership, and of making such rules of the game as will bring the best team results. Men, in their larger life, have learned the same lesson.

From the earliest days there has been a custom of making slaves of conquered people, or of those who were unwilling or unable to defend their freedom. Sometimes these slaves regained their freedom.

Sometimes they were kept in bondage throughout their lives. Sometimes even their children were born into and kept in slavery. To the shame of America it must be said that in the early days it permitted human slavery. But to her glory it must also be said that Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves.

The liberty of a man may be taken from him in many ways without his consent. He may forfeit it by failure to comply with a rule, or a law. He may be deprived of it temporarily or permanently by a violation of the rights of others. Children have many games in which there are forfeits of different kinds, sometimes of complete liberty. In the early days a man might be placed and kept in prison because he was in debt or for any one of many other reasons.

Man has often voluntarily given up his entire liberty in order to secure something he greatly desired. He has been willing to save in order that he might not be in want later, or spend to greater advantage. He has been willing to weave and sew, to hunt and fish, to toil in shop and market in order that he might have food and shelter. He has been willing to plow and sow in order that he might have a later harvest. He has been willing to leave play for study in order that he might succeed better. In games, as in life, he has been willing to forego some things in order to secure greater things. He has been willing and often glad to voluntarily place himself under the hardest kind

of training or discipline in order that he might better help a team win some contest. He has often been willing that his body should suffer for his soul's desire.

Freemen everywhere have insisted, however, that, while they themselves might voluntarily set aside a portion or all of their liberty for the time being, no one had the right to deprive them of any portion of their freedom, without their full and free consent, except on account of their own actions.

And they have worked steadily towards rules which guaranteed freedom for all.

Switzerland, Norway, Denmark and the British Commonwealth of Nations have each, in their own way, taken important steps, from time to time, in extending the rights of citizens.

It is because America has on the whole succeeded better than other nations in preserving the rights of freemen that it has come to be known as The Land of the Free. But in order that these rights may be forever maintained it must also ever continue to be The Home of the Brave. And it must continue to be the land where each freeman cheerfully concedes to his comrades the same freedom and the same rights which he claims for himself.

5. THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

It will always be good news to young Americans that *the pursuit of happiness* is one of their rights, so important that it was named third in the list, and so vital

that it may not be taken away by any king or by any government, but is an unalienable right. It is the first time that Happiness is named in a state paper.

It may seem odd, at first, that the Pursuit of Happiness should be ranked so high in the list of human rights. It will be noticed that it is only the pursuit and not actually securing happiness which is claimed as a right. Some will perhaps be puzzled to decide whether happiness is ever permanently secured or whether the right to keep pursuing it from one goal to the next, like a game that runs on forever, is, after all, one of the deepest and most enticing of human desires. These questions will have greater interest and meaning to each child as he grows older.

It might almost be said that for Young Americans of to-day this right to the Pursuit of Happiness is one of the most important rights, if not the most important single right, mentioned in the Declaration. The rights to Life and to Liberty have been so well established for so many years in America that most of our children only know from the experiences of others how dearly bought they have been in suffering and in human sacrifice. Many older people believe that the children of America have too much liberty, and that, while it might not be best arbitrarily to impose restraint on them from the outside the children themselves should do in their lives more of what they are doing so well in their games. They should voluntarily give themselves, or accept from others the discipline and training which alone will make them strong and capable citizens. Soft training never makes strong citizens.

There is exactly the same difficulty about finding happiness that there is about protecting life or defending liberty. No one has a right to happiness for himself at the expense of another who has an equal right to happiness.

It is entirely natural that in all the early pioneer days the forefathers were too busy with the work that must be done to give a great deal of attention to happiness purely in itself. Their greatest happiness then consisted in securing for themselves and for their children the free life which had for so many years been threatened. It consisted in the liberty they found in America to live a life which they so deeply loved, a life in which each of them was free to worship God as he chose, and to do those things which would bring out his special ability or fulfill the deepest desire of his heart. Their happiness was in their work, in hunting the many new animals, in fishing in the rivers and in the sea, in studying the flowers and plants, in finding ways to raise food, to make clothes from skins, from wool or from cotton, to build homes and schools and churches and ships. They had one of the greatest sources of happiness that can come to any one in life, the happiness of doing well work which they loved. They had the happiness of learning from the Indians, and from each other. They were so far away from the King and from the Mother Country that they were seldom interfered with. They found untold happiness in learning how to govern themselves. In New England especially most of them had a deep reverence for the Bible and were eager to follow its teachings. They prized learning, and at once founded their own schools.

They held their town meetings, where they discussed and each voted upon all the important questions which came before them. It was an infinite source of happiness to them that here in America, in spite of the bitter cold of the winters, of the suffering and want, their children were growing up to speak their own English language, instead of speaking Dutch, as they did in Holland, to live the kind of life their forefathers and they themselves had always prized. And while they were happy in their new freedom and happy in their work, new and unexplored life was always opening out before them. They had the constant chance to pursue happiness, hunting, fishing, trying new crops, building new homes, new towns, a new nation. They found supreme happiness in self-expression, self-support, and self-government, combined with coöperation for the welfare of all.

American children of to-day are the heirs of all this. They, in many ways, reap the harvest without having had the toil and suffering of pioneer days. In many ways the forefathers have done better for their children in America than they ever dreamed of doing. The first settlers were joined by new recruits, who in their turn had been so unhappy in the Mother Country that they were willing to risk all hardships in order to secure a better life for themselves and their children. These recruits not only brought the encouragement of larger numbers, but they brought greatly needed supplies. The voyage, once made, was easier the next time. It became possible to return to the Mother Country for a visit. Trading back and forth

began. In time people of other countries began to hear of America. Lovers of freedom from many lands began coming. Each brought to America, in addition to a willingness to have their bodies suffer for their soul's desire, much that the centuries had taught them. They all brought this inheritance from the past as their contribution to the Promised Land. So, while there was much suffering and sacrifice, and while complete happiness for them, as for every one, always kept just a little ahead, there was also much deep happiness in their new life and in their new liberty.

While the forefathers were too busy to think much about happiness itself it is deeply significant that they gave it, nevertheless, so prominent a place in so important a state paper. And they learned by experience many things about happiness, just as they learned from experience about life and about liberty. They learned that at its best happiness is to be pursued; that one of the greatest sources of happiness is in good work, well done; that it can never be secured by any one at the expense of others; that it must be shared to be really enjoyed; that real happiness depends, most of all, upon a proper inner attitude toward self, toward one's comrades and towards the Creator.

It is perhaps not too much to say that the Pursuit of Happiness is not only the great right, but that it is peculiarly the great privilege of young Americans of to-day. It was the task of the forefathers firmly to establish the right to life and the right to liberty. This task they have well done. Those rights have been so well and so firmly established that we may safely say they are no longer in grave danger. Should unforeseen

danger ever arise there will also arise countless young Americans, and young Lovers of Liberty everywhere who will again make them safe, at any cost.

America has been a pioneer in its ideals of the kind of happiness which the freemen of the world may profitably pursue. It is an American ideal that each generation shall preserve all the best that is handed down to it by its ancestors, make some additional contribution of its own, and pass on this life more abundant to the next generation.

While there is not now, and perhaps will never again be in America any necessity for the want, the suffering and the sacrifice which the forefathers made, the American ideal of work will hardly be changed. In America, ideals of work differ from those of Europe in two important particulars. In Europe the old idea was that one portion of the people worked, especially with their hands, while a different portion of the people received a larger part of the benefits of that work. Americans along with their idealism have always been a practical, common-sense people. They soon learned that in a pioneer country everybody must work. They have followed Captain John Smith's rule that one who would not work should not eat. So, in America, practically every one works, in some way rendering, with body, with mind, or with spirit, some service for the good of all, and does this willingly, often joyfully. In Europe those who work, especially with their hands, and often unwillingly, because they receive an unfair return for their labor, generally follow the same type of work as their fathers. The son of a shoemaker is a shoemaker. And there are still, in some countries, in spite of the

opposite ideas in America, a large number who claim the special privilege, as nobles or for some other reason, of living without working themselves, upon the products of the work of others. In America, more nearly than in any other country, not only does every one work in some way, but every one may receive a just return for his labor. But while every one works, it is unusual for a son to follow in the same way the same line of work as his father. In America there is more power applied to the development of natural resources for the benefit of mankind than in any other country.

American common sense and experience have taught us that, wherever else happiness is found, it is not found in idleness, and particularly in idleness supported unfairly by the labor of others. So young Americans will doubtless find much of their happiness in the results of good work well done.

Foreigners say, however, that Americans work too hard and have not learned the fine art of living. A foreigner once asked an American:

"Have you no leisure class?"

"Oh, yes," replied the American. "We call them tramps!"

Seriously, however, since America has become the richest nation in the world, and since this wealth accumulated from the past, as well as the wealth produced in the present, has been so fairly distributed, one of the most important problems ahead of young Americans is how to convert America's wealth into welfare and human betterment and how to find ways of using the leisure which is rapidly coming to *all men* so that

it may be a source of real welfare and happiness to all, instead of a curse. The worthy use of leisure is one of the greatest of all sources of happiness.

Young Americans may therefore, in their turn, make a contribution to the welfare of the world by pursuing a happiness which follows good work, well done, and fairly rewarded; a happiness which follows the free development of every latent ability; a happiness which does not infringe upon the rights of any one; a happiness which may be shared; which, beginning within a well-poised soul, extends out to satisfactory relations with comrades and with the Creator.

That happiness will be found to follow the words of Spinoza:

“I am certain that the good of human life cannot lie in the possession of things which, for one man to possess is for the rest to lose, but rather in things which all can possess alike, and where one man’s wealth promotes his neighbor’s.”

The young people of America could pursue nothing better than that happiness which comes from a life of unselfish service; which brings out the best in each one and makes it the common possession of all men.

Such a pursuit of happiness will of course keep them from becoming self-satisfied, too content with the achievements of America to see her shortcomings. They will be tolerant of other national ideals and aspirations, and sympathetic with other people everywhere. While they may prefer the Strenuous Life

of young America they will not be blind to the beauty and serenity of the Gentle Life of Japan, of China, of India and the Oriental civilizations which are, after all, centuries older than our own.

Chivalry and honor are not confined to any one nation. The Japanese have an ancient order, with a code of honor based upon the inborn satisfaction that comes from doing right. The precepts of knightly behavior, in every nation, are based upon the instincts of a gentleman. Jane Addams once said: "The common ties which bind us together are, after all, better and finer and nobler than the details upon which we differ."

When we have found those ideals which satisfy the soul and secure the real happiness of an American boy or girl we shall probably find them also present in a surprising degree in the hearts and souls of boys and girls everywhere.

6. GOVERNMENTS AMONG MEN

Every boy has had enough experience in life to understand that if he insists upon his rights alone, without regard to the rights of any one else, one of two things will happen. Either he will become an autocrat and a tyrant, usurping the rights of his comrades, or his comrades will likewise insist upon and maintain their rights as well. There will follow, in the latter case, either constant conflict, or there will be worked out some rule or some agreement under which the rights of each are guarded.

In the lives of boys and girls, if a new game is in-

vented, a conflict will soon arise between the rights of one player and the rights of another. Sometimes the players will talk the matter over and decide upon some way of playing which equally protects the rights of each. If there is an umpire, chosen and mutually agreed upon as the person to settle such disputes, the matter will be decided by him. Each player either accepts the decision of the umpire, or the play stops. In time, as the game grows older, these agreements become rules, well established, and always followed. The oldest games have a complete set of rules, which all who play these games obey. A rule is only changed when, as time goes on, a better way is found. New players begin by learning the rules of the game, thus avoiding in advance many conflicts.

In the affairs of men the rules of the game of life gradually become fixed laws, to be observed until those with proper authority to make them have in a proper way changed them.

Governments are formed among men for the purpose of making secure the rights, not only of each, but the rights of others and of all as well.

There are always a few people and occasionally a group who prefer no rules, no regulations, no laws, which interfere in any way with their own complete freedom. Such people soon learn that others claim and have rights as well as themselves. And oddly enough, just as those who insist upon complete religious freedom for themselves will at the same time deny that same freedom to others of different belief, so those who insist most strongly on their own rights will often, if

permitted to rule, be most ready to usurp the rights of others, and most cruel in depriving others of equal rights. Often the most tyrannous of governments has been one in which a people, freeing themselves at the cost of great bloodshed and suffering from oppression, have turned directly around and most cruelly oppressed some of their own comrades. The American Revolution, the French Revolution later, and last of all the Russian Revolution show the dangers of popular outbreaks.

The best method yet found, therefore, for a group of people to conduct their lives and affairs so that the rights of all will be equally protected is to establish a government which represents all, protects the rights of each and all, is binding on all alike until changed in due form by the action of all. Since it is usually difficult or impossible for all the people of any group or nation to meet and act together they frequently select from among their number certain ones in whom they have confidence and who have the ability to act for them, or represent them. Thus we get the name Representative Government.

7. JUST POWERS

Boys often claim what they at the time believe to be their rights, but what later study and a comparison with the claims made by their comrades at last force them to admit are not just rights. As their games or their lives go on they are gradually able to agree among themselves as to which rights are just. If they are not able to reach an agreement among themselves they

are usually able to agree upon an umpire, or some person or group to whom the matter shall be referred, each side presenting its own case, and each agreeing in advance to accept the decision given after hearing both sides.

It was in this way that umpires, judges and courts were established. In order to be sure that the decision reached by a proper authority will be accepted, umpires, judges and courts were in time given in advance full power to enforce the decisions they made, and to impose proper penalties both upon those found encroaching on the rights of others and upon those not willing to accept the decision given or to pay the penalty or make the restitution required.

As time went on it was found that the same questions kept coming up again and again. So the umpires, the judges and the courts began keeping a record of their decisions. As each question was decided the decision was preserved. When a question exactly like it came up the same decision was referred to and repeated. Each time a question was gone over and the same decision reached it became more evident that such decision was right. If it proved to be wrong in part it was in time corrected. General rules or laws were thus finally recorded, and from these general rules or laws particular cases or questions, differing slightly, but alike in the main, could be decided.

The Romans were among the most successful of the early peoples in reducing to law the rules of life which fairly stated the just rights of all. The Roman Law has been the guide and protection of many nations

since. The English people learned and remembered much from the Romans who first invaded Great Britain under Julius Cæsar in 55 B.C. To this they gradually added their own knowledge and experience until at last they had a great body of law, known as the English Common Law, which has been one of the finest presentations of the just rights of man ever made. When the just rights of a man were stated in a way to which "the memory of man runneth not to the contrary," these rights were regarded as fixed.

The English colonists brought their laws and their customs with them from the Mother Country. Their charters provided that English colonists were to have the same rights as those born in Great Britain. It was to defend these rights that the Revolution was fought. Americans in turn learned from the English law, as the English had learned from the Romans. So the statements of the just rights of man found in American law are many of them found in English and in Roman law as well.

Children, in their games, often first try getting along without rules and then later try getting along with some generally accepted, fair rules. In time they always find that a proper set of rules not only best protects the rights of all, but also that they are the best protection of a small group or of an individual.

Men and nations, throughout the centuries, have learned the same thing. There is nothing so dangerous to the just rights of the individual or the minority as anarchy, which means no rule.

So governments, and especially the American Government, are established for the purpose of protecting the

just rights of the individual, or of the minority against the tyranny of a king or even of a temporary majority. In protecting the just rights of the individual as well as of the group a government exercises its *just powers*.

8. THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED

In addition to their belief that all men were given certain equal rights direct by their Creator, Thomas Jefferson made another Declaration which was, at the time, just as startling and contrary to almost universal practice. It was that governments derive their just powers from *the consent of the governed*.

From the earliest days there have been kings who ruled because of their recognized ability and leadership. Later desiring to strengthen their rule and to hand it down to their children, certain kings gradually claimed that they were ruling, not because they had been chosen by the people as their wisest and most capable leaders, but that they were ruling by what the kings called Divine Right. They claimed that their right to be king was given them by God; that they were divinely anointed as king; that they had the right to pass down to their children the power to rule the people.

Many people have accepted this view. In some cases nations have accepted it for centuries, one king after another passing down to one of his sons or daughters his power to rule. Usually the first king of a particular family had real ability as a leader, and often he was chosen king by his people. Sometimes one or another of his children or grandchildren would be chosen, but would lack the real wisdom and ability of a leader.

Perhaps in a later generation there might be a return to strength. But instead of each succeeding king or leader being chosen on his merits this alleged divine right to rule was in time handed down by the king to his children, generation after generation, and was accepted by his people. When George Washington was first elected president the family at present ruling in Japan had, it claimed, already been ruling 2559 years.

Where there was an especially evil king, like King John, who ruthlessly violated the rights of his people a group of the more daring spirits would get together, gather others who wished to be freemen about them, set down, as the barons did in the Great Charter, a list of their rights which they were unwilling to have any king invade, and force the king to sign it. When a king persisted in violating their rights, as King Charles did, they sometimes beheaded him.

They would force the king to respect some of their most important rights if he wished to govern them—and they would consent to be governed by him only while he respected these rights.

A people may consent to be governed by a king if they choose. Great Britain has been so governed, as have many other nations. In Great Britain, however, there has slowly but surely grown the idea that the consent of the people must be secured to at least some portion of the conditions under which the people are governed. The king, century after century, has had more and more power taken away from him. The people have insisted that, in conducting their affairs, a larger and larger portion of their consent, through

their representatives, must be secured. The rights of the people have been more and more protected by law or by a constitution. So, the British Empire, for many years a Constitutional Monarchy, or a country in which the people give their consent to be ruled through a king, but with some of their rights protected by a constitution, is now known as a Commonwealth of Nations.

In America, from the earliest days of the colonies the people were under the constant necessity of largely governing themselves. Every year gave them greater skill and ability in the exercise of this self-government. They soon reached the conclusion that the consent of the people was necessary, not merely in those things which relate to their most important rights, but in *all* things relating to their government. They came to believe that there was *no* just civic powers except those derived from the consent of the governed. And this belief they declared to the world. This declaration has been, ever since, a rallying cry for the freemen of the world. Thousands have come to America, not only from Great Britain but from every nation in the world because this declaration expressed one of their deepest and dearest feelings.

The most important thing about any government is that the people consent to be governed. This does not in any way mean that they consent to a government whether by king or by any portion of their own number, even a majority, which violates any of their unalienable rights. But it does mean that when they or their proper representatives have agreed upon a law that law must be accepted and obeyed by all, until it has been changed in due form.

This is what the signers of the Mayflower Compact meant when they said :

“Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.”

This is what Roosevelt meant when he said :

“If you don’t like a law, repeal it ; but as long as it is on the statute books enforce it.”

This is what Abraham Lincoln meant when he said :

“Let every American, every lover of liberty . . . swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country, and never to tolerate their violation by others. As the patriots of ’76 did to the support of the Constitution and laws, let every American pledge his life, his property and his sacred honor. Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father and to tear the charter of his own and his children’s liberty. Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap ; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, in colleges ; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice.”

No lesson young Americans can teach themselves is more important than the habit of voluntary submission to rightful authority. For the protection of all we must

be governed. All should willingly accept and staunchly support their government, which should, of course, be made to operate for the benefit of all. The most important step in self-determination is the determination to have the willingness and the ability to govern ones self.

9. APPEAL TO THE SUPREME JUDGE

We have seen that boys, in learning how to play a new game in a way which will be fairest to all, work out from time to time a set of rules, and later when questions or disputes arise appeal to these rules as the best way of finding out what is right.

Our forefathers, in their early colonial days, did the same thing. They declared their determination

"To assume the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's god entitle them."

And when they had made their immortal Declaration they solemnly added an appeal to the Supreme Judge of the world to witness that what they intended to do was right. This appeal not only indicated their confidence that they were right; it indicated their belief that what they had declared was in harmony with what is highest and best, and that they were influenced by no low motive. It indicated their willingness to submit their case to this Supreme Judge, and to abide by His decision.

Many have wondered, from time to time, why those

immortal American papers, the Bill of Rights, the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, the Mayflower Compact, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution written as they were in a small corner of the earth by a little group of pioneers, have had such widespread and lasting influence in the world.

The reason is that they express simply, but beautifully and completely the feelings which are deepest in the hearts of freemen everywhere, feelings which they have inherited direct from their Father and Creator, to whom they are willing to leave the question whether these feelings are right.

The Declaration is not merely a great document dealing solely with the political rights of a people. If it had said, as the corresponding French document says: "All men have certain equal political rights," it would have been merely a great political document.

It has great breadth, for it deals not only with the deepest feelings of a group of struggling Colonists, but with the deepest feelings in the hearts of *all men* everywhere. It deals not merely with political rights; but with all human rights. There is a passion for freedom running through every line of the Declaration, with roots far back in the history of every nation in which men born with free souls have struggled and sacrificed and suffered for free lives. That passion for freedom runs not only down into the very depths of their hearts, and out into the hearts of their fellow freemen of every age, but through all human beings, up to the Heart of the Father, from whom it has been re-

ceived as a priceless inheritance. When individuals appeal to God the reply might be different for each one, and still be right. But when the replies all agree in one important detail it is practically certain to be right.

This belief that the rights in which they declared their faith were both human and Divine extends not only through the feelings and actions of their ancestors in the Mother Country, not only through the life and struggles of early colonists, but through the entire history of America since, through every war for freedom which we have fought and won, through every effort for peace we have ever made.

America has, back of its highest ideals, not only the highest wisdom and human experience, but also Divine authority. It is written on every page of our history, on every stripe and back of every star in our flag. It is stamped on our coins, as it has been stamped in our lives—*In God We Trust*.

Many devout and conscientious Americans have expressed regret that God is not specifically recognized in the Constitution.

They will be gratified to notice how fully God is recognized in the Declaration. It appeals to *the laws of nature and of nature's God*. It states as a self-evident truth *that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights*. It appeals to *the supreme judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions*. It closes with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence.

IO. WE, THE PEOPLE

No statements as important as those in the Declaration would stand without some proper authority back of them. So the forefathers solemnly stated not only the Divine authority for their beliefs but boldly announced a new doctrine—one that has gone ringing down the ages ever since—the human authority.

Both the people and the king, it will be remembered, claimed Divine authority for their right to rule. The king claimed that this authority came down to him by birth as a Divine right from God. The people claimed that it came to them as a direct inheritance, by equally Divine right. It is in the second point that republics differ from monarchies, either constitutional or absolute. The American colonists claimed that just powers were derived only from the consent of the governed. They went one step farther. Denying that supreme authority in government rested with the king, even when the people consented that he should exercise that authority they claimed that human authority rests solely and entirely with the people themselves.

For their justification, they said:

"In the Name and by the Authority of the Good People of These Colonies."

We frequently use the shorter form taken from the Preamble to the Constitution,

"We, the People."

These, then, are the two great ways in which a republic differs from a monarchy: 1st, in the denial of any king's divine right to rule; 2nd, in the claim that just powers are derived only from the consent of the governed, and that human authority rests solely in the hands of the people themselves, or their chosen representatives.

It is said that Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration without direct reference at the time to any book or document. So fully had he mastered what had been said and written on the subjects of liberty and human rights that it had become a part of his very life. He had a genius for expressing great truths in words that were simple, beautiful and inspiring. Nowhere else outside of the Good Book have the things closest and dearest to the hearts of men been said in words which they gladly and gratefully accept as stating what they feel and would love to be able to say, said in the way they would like to say it. Single words and phrases in the Declaration have been classics ever since, moving, inspiring, strengthening the hearts and souls of freemen everywhere.

The boldness of their position and the loftiness of their feeling was shown in the next words:

"We, Solemnly Publish and Declare."

Not only did they sign the Declaration, when to sign it meant certain and ignominious death if they failed, but they spread it broadcast. It was at once sent to each of the colonies. Copies were reprinted in the papers

and in pamphlets. It was solemnly read at public meetings. Then the pent-up feelings of the patriots burst out, the bells were rung, bonfires were lighted, and there was universal rejoicing that they had at last come into and declared their rights as freemen. Throughout the colonies there grew a greater and greater determination to maintain these rights.

A mob or an uncontrolled people may become a worse tyrant than any king. It has happened, time after time, in the history of the world that, breaking away from one form of tyranny merely meant passing into another, and often worse form. Americans combine ideals with practical, common sense. They have always believed in self-government; never in anarchy. While as individuals and as a nation they have always been quick to assert and firm to maintain their own rights, they have always, at the same time, perhaps better than most nations, if not better than any other nation, not only conceded to others their rights, but protected individuals and minorities in the exercise of their rights. Anarchy has never found real favor in America. Except in the case of the slaves, who were finally freed, the rights of each and all have been safeguarded and protected from the very beginning.

For centuries, among the leading nations from whom the early colonists came, there had been not only a fixed belief in the necessity and advantage of some form of government and a belief that self-government was far the best form ever found, but also constant and successful experiments in governing themselves. They had

handed down through centuries a saying: "Where the law is enforced it should be made." For centuries they had here and there organized themselves into towns, communities or colonies each perhaps subject to some general government, but each making, observing and enforcing when necessary their own laws in matters relating to their local life.

These laws had two great general qualities, and their success caused them to be continued and copied. They recognized, in the first place, that there were certain rights which each individual held; rights which no king and no government of any kind could take away; rights which it was the duty of every good government to guard and protect. It is these rights of the individual which Thomas Jefferson so superbly stated in the Declaration that it has been the watchword of freemen ever since. It is their failure to protect these individual rights which has been the cause of the downfall of so many governments, which has led to anarchy instead of to self-government. The first obligation upon any freeman is the obligation to govern himself. The next is the obligation to respect the equal rights of his comrades. The forefathers also had, for many years, in addition to recognizing individual rights, adopted and practiced the habit of providing that a majority should determine what ought to be done, in all matters except those involving the unalienable rights of the individual, like the right to life, to liberty, to the pursuit of happiness, to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

"The Majority Rules,"

became both a saying, a custom, and finally law in cases outside of the unalienable individual rights. A rule or law, made by the majority, was observed and if necessary enforced by properly organized authorities, as long as it remained the rule or law, or until it was changed in due form by a majority. This has been one of the great rules of life in America from the earliest days.

The universal experience of man since the world began shows that some form of government is not only necessary but is best and wisest for the mutual protection of all men alike. It has also shown that the form of government, which guarantees the protection of the unalienable rights of the individual and at the same time secures through majority action, the well-being of all, is, on the whole, the best form of government yet found.

The chief difficulty, of course, comes in attempting to decide which rights are unalienable, and cannot, under any circumstances, be taken from an individual by any government, and which activities may profitably be made the subject of coöperative action, through a majority, for the joint benefit of everybody.

The greatest element of strength in the American form of government, is that, in the immortal words of Abraham Lincoln, it is

"Of the People, by the People, for the People."

The people, through a majority of their own chosen representatives, make the law. The same people, acting in due form, through a majority of their chosen representatives, may change the law. There are proper safeguards everywhere, inserted by the forefathers, and intended to absolutely protect the unalienable rights not only of minorities but even of individuals. There are three qualities which account for the fact that the American form of government has endured so long and has been copied so widely. The first is that it is founded on rights inherited from the Father. The second is that it derives its civil power from the consent of all the people. The third is that the rights are safeguarded, so that they cannot be usurped by any king, or by a sudden, intolerant majority, nor set aside or abridged by anything other than the deliberate action of all the people.

As is the custom in minor organizations the great principles are embodied firmly in a Constitution, amply safeguarded from too sudden or unwise change. Less important details are regulated by minor laws more easily changed, as changing conditions suggest or require. These are usually called by-laws.

A most interesting study, for young Americans, is the way different peoples or nations have attempted to govern themselves. It will be a source of pride to them to find that the Declaration of Independence, following its great predecessors, the Magna Charta, the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, the Bill of Rights, and the Mayflower Compact, has been the cornerstone of Liberty in so many places, and that the Constitution

of the United States has been copied in most of its leading provisions, not only by each of the States of our Union, but in one hundred twenty-five constitutions.

While young Americans will always be open-minded seekers for all that is best in human welfare it will be a source of just satisfaction to them to know that no later experiment in government of any kind has, on the whole, proved to be better for *all men*, and that, while new experiments in details of government are being made, many of the changes made by other nations in adapting our form of government have proved not to be as satisfactory—at least for *Americans*—as our own.

II. FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES

Young Americans will realize by this time, perhaps more fully than they ever have before, how deeply their forefathers felt upon the subjects of liberty, of human rights, of self-government. Thomas Jefferson simply welded into a few burning words what Washington, who was usually cool and collected, felt with all his heart; what Patrick Henry voiced so passionately and so eloquently; what John and Samuel Adams argued so clearly and so logically; what the patriots everywhere approved so enthusiastically and determined to defend so staunchly.

While as individuals and as separate colonies they had all the sterling independence that has marked pioneers everywhere, their common sense taught them that when faced by a common danger they must unite and coöperate for common protection. Many of them

loved the Mother Country dearly, united to it as they were by all the ties of blood, of a common language, of common traditions and ideals. They had been trained for years in a pride in the British Empire and in loyalty to the king. They had made every effort to induce the king and his ministers to understand that as English colonists they could not and would not allow their rights as freemen, guaranteed under their charters, to be usurped. If these rights could not be respected as English colonists, a part of the British Empire, there was nothing left for them except separation.

So they inserted in the Declaration these words:

"These United Colonies Are, and of Right Ought To Be, Free and Independent States."

They knew that they must first have a name. So they adopted the name *The United States of America*. They proceeded to adopt the army raised by the colonies, elected George Washington Commander-in-chief and prepared to defend the liberties, for themselves and for their children in search of which they had come to America.

The Colonists were not without friends and earnest defenders in England, and even in Parliament. William Pitt said what has ever endeared him to the hearts of Americans:

"If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, and a foreign foe were landing on my shores, I would never lay down my arms. Never. *Never!* NEVER!"

It is a constant source of surprise, as well as of joy, to young Americans, visiting in England, to find that some of the early events in the life of the colonies made, if possible, a deeper impression on England than they did even on America; to see the honor in which George Washington is held; to see beside Westminster Abbey a duplicate of the Statue of Abraham Lincoln; to see at Plymouth the memorial to the Pilgrims; to see Longfellow's bust in the Poets' Corner. The British say that blood runs thicker than water. And some of them have said that America taught England by the Declaration and through the Revolution, a lesson which England badly needed,—and which she never forgot! It was the lesson that freemen must respect the free rights of their free children!

12. ABSOLVED FROM ALL ALLEGIANCE

Roots running as deep as those which ran down into the lives of the people of Great Britain and their colonies in America cannot be torn up without suffering. Allegiance to the Mother Country was at first strong and natural. They had many common bonds of union. They were of the same race; believed in the same God, though worshipping Him in somewhat different ways; spoke the same language; had handed down from father to son the same customs; held, in the main, the same ideals of life; looked forward to somewhat the same things for themselves and for their children. They were, in a sense, a large family, with the added allegiance to the same King.

It was as though a boy or a girl of to-day felt that,

for some reason which could not, in conscience, be escaped, it had become necessary to forever separate from father and mother, from brother and sister. A young American of to-day can better understand this if he happens to have been in Great Britain during or since the World War. Then the great family of English speaking people was united once more in the defense of the rights of the freemen of the world. The Mother Country was in sore distress, and lay, like a great lion, violently attacked. The younger sons, who had gone out as freemen to colonize Canada, Australia, and America, were back to the defense and united in upholding a common cause. Each country of the younger generation, young Canada, young Australia, young America, differed from the Mother Country. Each younger brother differed from the other. They had all learned, however, not only to respect, but even to encourage these differences.

They were united in one common purpose and in one firm determination. The rights of the self-governed freemen of the world, which they had dared and suffered so much to maintain in the past should not be taken from them or from their children while they had life or strength left. It was a goodly company,—and a Godly cause. Americans, hating war even as they do, nevertheless found themselves fighting once more for freedom. Blood must run again, if there is no other way. And when it runs, it runs thicker than water. These times are closer to young Americans than colonial days. An understanding of the feelings that moved the hearts of freemen in one case will help toward an understanding of the other.

When a people with a common language and with common ideals have fought and suffered together for many years in a common cause, they do not easily separate. While the fact that one seems determined to hurt most deeply the feelings of the other, or to usurp rights, arouses feeling, it does not make the separation easier.

To many of the colonists one of the hardest things they ever were called upon to do was to renounce allegiance to their king and Mother Country. Just in proportion as they had been loyal in the past the renunciation became difficult. But there was a higher allegiance, calling them in ways they could not resist.

So reluctantly, but determinedly, because there seemed no other way they declared :

"That They Are Absolved from All Allegiance to the British Crown, and That All Political Connection Between Them and the State of Great Britain Is, and Ought To Be, Totally Dissolved."

Thousands of good Americans since have been forced, reluctantly, but determinedly, to renounce their allegiance to the king or Mother Country they loved and loyally served for years, in order to accept higher allegiance to the *United States of America*, and the freemen of the world.

13. THE SUPPORT OF THE DECLARATION

The Declaration would have had little beyond the appeal of its stirring words if there had not been, back

of these, strong support. The forefathers therefore solemnly stated their

“Firm Reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence.”

Then they recorded with equal solemnity their mutual pledge to each other of all the things they held dear in life, in support of the Declaration. It is interesting to note that they made these pledges in what they considered the order of their importance. First they pledged their *lives*, knowing full well that they would hang as rebels in case they were for any reason not able to maintain their independence, and also knowing that their lives were of no real value without the rights as freemen for which they were contending. They not only pledged their lives in the cause of liberty, but they at once, throughout the colonies, offered these lives in service, some in the army, some in Congress, wherever their service might prove of greatest value to the nation.

Next they pledged their *fortunes*. One might suppose that their fortunes would rank lower than their lives. But if their lives were offered and should be taken, either in battle or as rebels because their venture failed, their fortunes were all that stood between their wives or children and want. It was the well-being of these that gave their fortunes higher rank.

Last they pledged that which was dearer to their hearts than either lives or fortunes,—their *sacred*

honor. More bitter than the loss of either life or fortune would have been the fact that, should the Independence of the United States not have been secured, the signers of the Declaration, and all those who took active part in the revolt against the Mother Country, would, in addition to being hanged and having all their worldly goods confiscated, have gone down in history dishonored and branded as rebels against their King and traitors to their country.

It is only as we fully weigh these possible consequences of their actions that we realize how deeply rooted must have been their feeling of independence; how firmly the desire for freedom had taken hold upon their hearts; how completely the love of liberty wiped out all consideration of life, and of possessions, when they signed the Declaration.

All those who aspire to be worthy of ranking, in their turn, along with the lovers of liberty who cherish it above every other boon, constantly strengthen their hearts and souls not only by studying the deeds of the forefathers but also by following in their footsteps whenever and wherever a time comes when they may take a stand for their country.

They, in their turn

"Mutually Pledge to Each Other Our Lives, Our Fortunes, Our Sacred Honor."

14. JOHN HANCOCK

American schoolboys and lovers of liberty throughout the world know the signature of *John Hancock*.

When a hard or an heroic thing is to be done it is well not only to do it firmly but to do it boldly. No one who looks at the signature which John Hancock placed first at the end of the Declaration of Independence will doubt either its firmness or its boldness.

John Hancock was a noted man in the colonies before that time. His ability, his wealth, his outstanding services in upholding the claims of the colonists against the king and his ministers had brought him into marked prominence. This action and the courage with which he took it made him even more prominent. It was a challenge. Should the fight for independence fail its leaders would be held responsible. They would be the first to be punished. We may, therefore, understand the grim humor with which John Hancock wrote his name in large, plain letters and added the defiant flourish underneath, then said:

"There, I Guess King George Will be Able to Read That!"

History has not given us any record of what King George felt, or thought or said when he read the Declaration and saw John Hancock's name standing out so daringly with the others. But we do know that the very form of this signature has carried a thrill of courage to the hearts of patriots ever since. To this day a man is said to sign his "*John Hancock*" to important documents.

While the names of the other fifty-five signers of the Declaration do not stand out with quite the same bold prominence as that of the President of the Congress,

their risk was scarcely, if any, less than his. And their honor should be as great. Each was a leader in his own state. Each fully accepted entire responsibility for his action. Each would have felt the penalty of failure. Each is worthy of all honor.

There was no shirking, no hesitation anywhere. They were not only bold but blithe and cheery as well. Each was ready and willing to follow the witty Benjamin Franklin and hang together or hang separately.

There were two Charles Carrolls in Maryland. In order that there might be no doubt in the future as to which one King George should hang for the action the signer wrote "Charles Carroll of Carrollton!"

It is never so difficult to get a group of people to feel and act together as when something which deeply touches their independence arises. The States each had different interests. They were all in different degrees of danger. The representatives from each of the States differed from one another in many ways. But they were united in a common love of liberty, in a common danger of having that liberty taken from them, in a common determination to suffer anything rather than this.

It is because they united and kept staunchly together in this common faith in the triumph of the right, love of freedom and hope and determination to win it that *all men* hold the signers of the Declaration of Independence in highest honor.

15. THE PREAMBLE

We have seen how the deepest feelings that thrilled the hearts and souls of lovers of liberty for centuries

were, by the magic pen of Thomas Jefferson, recorded in words so simple, yet so soul-satisfying and inspiring that they have been watchwords ever since and ever will be.

It was five long years after the Declaration of Independence was signed that Lord Cornwallis surrendered and Great Britain acknowledged that the people of the United States of America were free to govern themselves. It was twelve years before the Constitution was ratified. With the stirring events of the Revolution every schoolboy is familiar. He knows how Washington and the Continental army starved, and suffered, and bled, and many of them died for Freedom; how the Delaware was crossed; how the snow-clad hills of Valley Forge were tramped red with the bleeding foot-steps of the patriot soldiers. He understands that, ever since, American Liberty has been bought at the price of suffering and sacrifice. He knows that Eternal Vigilance is the price of Liberty. And he, like his forefathers, stands ever ready to pay the price, if necessary.

The Preamble, or introduction to the Constitution is, like the Declaration, one of those marvelously simple yet complete statements of how the American people feel on the subject of freedom and the right to govern themselves. The colonists had superbly stated and successfully maintained their rights. They now standardized their idea of the best plan for the self-government of freemen. The Preamble in many ways is a summary of the passion expressed in the Declaration, stated now in the somewhat subdued terms of rights at last acknowledged and here reduced to an outline for or-

derly government for themselves and for freemen everywhere.

It begins with its statement of the source of human authority,

"We, the People."

Then it gives, with matchless simplicity, so plainly that even a child may understand them, the six great reasons for organizing among men governments which will protect the rights of each and secure the coöperation of all.

These six reasons are :

- 1st. TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION.
- 2nd. TO ESTABLISH JUSTICE.
- 3rd. TO INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY.
- 4th. TO PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE.
- 5th. TO PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE.
- 6th. TO SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY.

Nothing could be more interesting or more profitable for a group of young American students than to take up and study each of these reasons in turn. Let them use their imaginations, and make for the benefit of

themselves and their classmates a moving picture scenario, a pageant, or a drama, showing by a series of selections from the history of their forefathers, just why, from time to time, it was necessary or desirable to organize and maintain some form of government in order to form a more perfect union, and the various steps that were taken. They will picture, in turn, the advantages of union in self-defense, between the different families of colonists, between the towns, when the Indians were hostile; between the colonies when their liberties were threatened; between the States for past, present and future defense. They will come to understand, as they never did before, the full feeling back of the American motto:

"E Pluribus Unum."

"One, from Many."

Then let them make a picture showing in progressive stages the efforts of man to secure justice, and how completely this depends upon a well ordered government. Some of the six reasons will deal largely with the history of the past. Some will relate as much or more to the problems which young Americans must in their turn face as the pioneers of the future. For America is not yet perfect.

Picturing for themselves the history of the past will not only help young Americans understand better the feelings of the patriots, but it will also give them training and experience for the future.

The six reasons, given in the Preamble in less than

six lines, for properly organizing government among men contain condensed in a few words the wisdom of generations and food for study for years.

The Preamble concludes as simply, and as briefly :

"We, the People," for the six reasons given, "Do Ordain and Establish This Constitution for the United States of America."

16. THE CONSTITUTION

In America there is one oath which every high official takes, to sustain and support the Constitution of the United States. There is one allegiance to which every soldier swears,—allegiance to the *Constitution of the United States*. To this oath and to this allegiance every good American is faithful until death. It represents in a simple but solemn act as much to him as the signing of the Declaration of Independence did to the forefathers, or as the oath of office did to Washington or to Lincoln. For without the loyalty of present and future Americans there would soon be no United States, in spite of the Declaration, the Revolution, the Constitution and all the suffering and sacrifice that have glorified the pages of American history since.

There is not, in the Constitution, any of the passion which marked the Declaration. After the Preamble it deals with the details of government, rather than with the eternal principles of liberty, general welfare and human betterment. It is properly made the subject of

careful study, for in the successful operation of any government there are countless details. But to find the great human heart throbs which thrilled the lives of Americans before and during 1776 it is necessary to go to the matchless words of Thomas Jefferson, to the orations of Patrick Henry, to the daring deeds of those glorious days.

It is to the everlasting glory of the Constitution that it has stood for over a century as the form of government of the greatest nation of self-governed freemen the world has yet known; that it has, unchanged, except in minor details, remained adequate throughout the years, meeting countless new conditions and severe tests; that it has served as a model for more than a hundred twenty-five other constitutions and that it is, if anything, now held in higher esteem as an effectual method for the government of freemen than ever before in its history.

It is a state document of which every American, young and old, may justly be proud; to which he may devoutly swear allegiance; in support of which he may in his turn gladly, if necessary, give his life, his fortune and his sacred honor.

The Eagle is the symbol of America, with its soaring aspiration; the Stars and Stripes our emblem; the Preamble our ideal of government; the Constitution its backbone and structure—but when we wish to listen to the very heart throbs of the patriots we must go to the Declaration of Independence.

Chapter IV: THE DECLARATION AND
THE JUNIOR REPUBLICS

CHAPTER IV

THE DECLARATION AND THE JUNIOR REPUBLICS

I. WHAT WOULD THE PATRIARCH FEEL, SAY, AND DO TO-DAY?

The Fourths of the Future are in the hands of the Young Americans of to-day as they feel once more the thrill that stirred the hearts of the patriots and as they re-live the glorious deeds of their heroic forefathers. Their own lives are in the present and in the future, not in the past. They receive from the past the inspiration for that future.

What would the patriot fathers feel and say and do if they were American high school pupils to-day? For what kind of American *life* would Washington give his unselfish service again? What kind of *liberty* would Patrick Henry prefer to life if he were now living? Would Thomas Jefferson consider the pursuit of happiness, as we regard it, one of the unalienable rights? To what kind of a Declaration of Independence would John Hancock, if now living, sign his name so boldly?

A century and a half of national life—glorious as it has been—is but a brief span in the life of nations. The national birthday we celebrate is, after all, the birthday of a comparatively young nation. The prob-

lems of the present and of the future are problems for youth to solve. Age, wisdom and experience can offer them inspiration and guidance.

2. IDEALS FOR THE FUTURE

Life would be a tragic failure if the high ideals and the self-sacrificing deeds of the patriots in the past did not inspire equally high ideals and heroic deeds in the present and in the future. There always have arisen sterling American sons and daughters, worthy of the patriots of the past.

How may the highest ideals of American patriotism be handed down forever from father to son, from mother to daughter?

3. THE FIVE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

It is again a self-evident truth that young Americans of the present and of the future will never willingly give up, while life lasts, the five fundamental rights,—

1. FREEDOM OF PERSON,
2. FREEDOM OF TRIAL,
3. FREEDOM OF WORSHIP,
4. FREEDOM OF SPEECH,
5. FREEDOM OF PROPERTY.

4. THE FIVE GREAT OBLIGATIONS

To maintain these rights in the present and in the future they in their turn will be willing, as were their

forefathers, voluntarily to accept the five great obligations,—

1. TO BE EVER READY, AS VOLUNTEERS OR IN OBEDIENCE TO THE DRAFT, TO GIVE THEIR LIVES IN SERVICE TO THEIR COUNTRY.
2. TO OBEY THE LAWS, AND TO SERVE, ON JURY OR OTHERWISE IN ADMINISTERING THEM.
3. TO TOLERANTLY AND SYMPATHETICALLY EXTEND TO OTHERS THE SAME FREEDOM OF WORSHIP THEY CLAIM FOR THEMSELVES.
4. TO REGISTER AND VOTE, HELPING TO MAKE THE LAWS OR TO SELECT THE REPRESENTATIVES WHO SHALL MAKE OR EXECUTE THEM, AND TO ACCEPT THE DECISION OF THE MAJORITY.
5. TO CONTRIBUTE, JOINTLY AND FAIRLY, BY PERSONAL SERVICE AND BY SELF-IMPOSED TAXES, TO FREEDOM AND SECURITY OF PROPERTY.

There can be no guarantee of freedom for any person unless freemen unite and give their all if necessary to maintain that freedom.

There can be no guarantee that every one will have a

free, open trial, if accused, unless freemen voluntarily obey the laws and serve in administering them.

There can be no freedom of worship for one unless all are tolerant and sympathetic in extending to others the same freedom they claim for themselves. In many of the relations of life the freedom of one is limited by obligations to others. But every one may be free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience without in any way limiting the equal right of others to so worship.

The best guarantee for real freedom of speech is the voluntary vote of all on any question under discussion, and the cheerful acceptance of the decision of the majority. Either an individual or a member of a minority always has the right to try to persuade others of the truth of his belief, continuing until such time as he has secured a majority. It is an American belief, however, that no minority has the right to rule.

The best guarantee for freedom and security in the possession of property is a recognition of the equal right of any one to secure property in a lawful way, and of the obligation resting upon all to join together and to contribute a fair share, by taxes or by personal service, toward making and keeping that property secure and thus increasing its value. Taxation without representation is tyranny. But self-taxation is one of the finest forms of coöperation.

5. THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE SCHOOLS

The American public school is the best way yet found for training the children of freemen to recognize

and maintain their rights by voluntarily accepting and fulfilling their obligations.

The purpose of the school is to train the children of freemen for *life*, for *liberty* and for *the pursuit of happiness* in accordance with the highest American ideals and to make this training a model for their free brethren throughout the world, in order that there may really be peace, good will among men.

Every school in America is a possible, if not an actual, Junior Republic. Every high school is, or ought to be, an officers' training camp in the preparation for peace, if at all possible, but also for such service, sacrifice and suffering, if unavoidable, as is absolutely necessary to maintain the unalienable rights of freemen.

The freemen of the world have learned, through the bitter experience of war, how to have every boy and girl, every man and woman contribute and combine for service to country and humanity all the physical, mental, moral and spiritual power in body, mind and soul.

The most fascinating pioneer problem before the youth of America is to find a way of converting this giant power which is in the hearts and souls of freemen everywhere to welfare and human betterment through peace and fellowship.

The American public school is the place to learn how this may be done. When it is done effectively in the American public schools they may be offered as America's choicest contribution to her sister republics for the training of the free children of the world.

The pupils in the schools are the citizens of the Junior Republics. The principals and teachers are the higher officials. The officers of the various student organizations are the representatives of the pupil citizens and are the minor officials of the Junior Republics. Just in proportion as pupils take loyal and intelligent part in the organization and conduct of their life in this Junior Republic while in school do they receive training and exercise in the difficult art of self-government and become better qualified to make worthy citizens of the Great Republic.

We have lived over again the feelings of the forefathers on the subjects of freedom, of their unalienable rights, and of the necessity and advantage of joining all the powers and privileges of the individual with those of his comrades in order to make a team that would be forever unconquered.

Let us, like good pioneer scouts, try to blaze the way for a *United States of the World*, founded on the power of peace and brotherhood. Let us try to bring to the solution of this new problem of life such wisdom from the lives of the forefathers as will be of present and future value, combining it with the pioneer experiences which American boys and girls are having daily in their modern schools, in order that, from this joint older wisdom and younger experience we may find the best guide and the best models for the Republics that are to be.

6. AMERICA FIRST

Bishop G. Ashton Oldham has presented the following ideal for young Americans:

“Not merely in matters material, but in things of the spirit.

Not merely in science, inventions, motors, and skyscrapers, but also in ideals, principles, character.

Not merely in the calm assertion of rights, but in the glad assumption of duties.

Not flaunting her strength as a giant, but bending in helpfulness over a sick and wounded world like a Good Samaritan.

Not in splendid isolation, but in courageous coöperation.

Not in pride, arrogance, and disdain of other races and people, but in sympathy, love, and understanding.

Not in treading again the old, worn, bloody pathway which ends inevitably in chaos and disaster, but in blazing a new trail, along which, please God, other nations will follow, into the new Jerusalem where wars shall be no more.

Some day some nation must take that path—unless we are to lapse once again into utter barbarism—and that honor I covet for my beloved America.

And so, in that spirit and with these hopes, I say with all my heart and soul, ‘AMERICA FIRST.’”

7. THE AMERICAN'S CREED

Each young American studies and makes a vital part of his life the American's creed:

I BELIEVE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AS A GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, WHOSE JUST POWERS ARE DERIVED FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED; A DEMOCRACY IN A REPUBLIC; A SOVEREIGN NATION OF MANY SOVEREIGN STATES; A PERFECT UNION, ONE AND INSEPARABLE, ESTABLISHED UPON THOSE PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM, EQUALITY, JUSTICE, AND HUMANITY FOR WHICH AMERICAN PATRIOTS SACRIFICED THEIR LIVES AND FORTUNES. I THEREFORE BELIEVE IT IS MY DUTY TO MY COUNTRY TO LOVE IT; TO SUPPORT ITS CONSTITUTION; TO OBEY ITS LAWS; TO RESPECT ITS FLAG; AND TO DEFEND IT AGAINST ALL ENEMIES.

8. THE GREAT STEPS

The first step which any citizen of a Junior Republic takes is firmly to resolve that he is able to govern himself, and that he is going to govern himself. Self-determination begins with the determination to govern one's self. This rock-bottom principle of American government deeply implanted in his very soul must come out of his soul into his life. He learns how to rule himself. He assumes and exercises self-government. No one who is at heart an anarchist can ever hope to become a real American citizen. The entire

theory of American life, on both its human and its Divine side, is based upon an orderly and just government which begins with the control of self. No one who permits himself to act beyond his self-control, who tolerates misrule in any organization in which he has a part, or who submits to the autocratic control of others has a right to call himself a good American.

The daily salute of the flag, the implied oath to support the Constitution, the participation in patriotic exercises and duties, the study of the services and the sacrifices of the forefathers, all awaken and develop in the hearts of the Junior Republicans a desire and a determination to become, in their turn, worthy citizens of the Republic.

The second great step, after the firm determination by every Junior member of the Republic that he will learn to govern himself, is that he will learn the difficult art of coöperative self-government.

In no place could any one find a better opportunity to learn self-government for the individual and co-operation for the group than in American schools,—our Junior Republics. Every young American citizen has ahead of him, when he enters the upper grades, his Golden Years, his 'teens, the best years of his life for learning. Each pupil is at the age when ideals make their strongest appeal. The higher the ideal of service, of sacrifice, of suffering if need be, the more firmly it grips the hearts and souls of young patriots, and the tighter and longer it holds them. The modern American high school offers every pupil a double opportunity to develop every latent power or ability he possesses.

First there is abundant opportunity for training and discipline in any line of ability in the varied courses of the regular classes. Then there is a wealth of opportunity in the countless student activities outside the regular classroom work, for participation at every step from beginner to trained leader. Many of these outside activities, or games, begin with the degree of skill or training which the pupil had reached in his last grade, and carry on to greater skill. Many of them take up entirely new activities, suited to the present age and ability and desire of the pupil.

Pupils soon learn, in their own games, and particularly in the competitive games with other schools, the advantages of organization, of skilled leadership, of the rules of the game. One example of the loss of a game at a critical moment, through lack of self-control on the part of a player, will teach that player and the entire school the supreme value of self-discipline. Every one will understand instantly that the control vitally necessary at that moment could not possibly have come from principal, from teacher, or from any source outside of himself. He lost, and in consequence, his team or his school lost. One superb example of self-control, under most trying conditions, which enables a player to hold his poise, to retain his skill, to win the game against great odds, will thrill a school and impress the value of character qualities in a way that will make the incident live in school and athletic history for years. This was what Kipling meant when he wrote "If."

The total value and standing of an American high school, like the value and standing of American life,

does not depend upon individual ability alone, nor upon teamwork alone. Both school and nation, in their everyday life, and in the crises which go to make their history, are truly great just as they call upon and use to the full all the ability of each citizen, working singly or together for the good and the glory of all.

Each pupil, during his school course, and each citizen during his life, plays many parts. In his studies he begins, progresses, conquers. In school life he is freshman, with everything new and strange and yet to be learned. Then he is sophomore, with the beginnings of wisdom. Then he is junior, with the first taste of responsibility and leadership. Then he is senior, with many burdens, but with trained and hardened muscles to bear them; with countless duties, but with organizing ability to meet them; with endless difficulties, but with tact and judgment in overcoming them. At last he is an alumnus, with the training of years in his body, making it strong; in his mind making it alert; in his soul making it staunch, ready and willing to go forth and serve, bringing, in his turn, new glories to the school he loves.

In the crafts he has been first an unskilled apprentice, learning the beginnings of manual dexterity, and later the beginning at least of a skilled mechanic. In the arts, one or another, he has been first amateur, then artist in his ability to express in music, in painting or the drama something of the beauty he has felt. In all his games he has learned that in America as in football orders are signals for coöperation. He has learned to rule himself, under the most trying conditions. He has learned to be ruled by others, appointed in part

by him whose delegated authority he voluntarily accepts. He has learned to rule in coöperation with others in a definite practical way which will actually bring about added well-being for all.

Greater than all this, he has learned the fine art of life,—of living sympathetically, tolerantly, appreciatively, helpfully with others, preserving all of those rights which have been handed down to him as unalienable, conceding cheerfully the same rights to others, sharing opportunity freely with all, bearing cheerfully and ably his share of the joint burdens and obligations without which there can be no life more abundant.

9. A ONE HUNDRED PER CENT AMERICAN

The schools of America are not great simply because they give each pupil an opportunity to develop a well-trained mind. Nor are they great simply because of the opportunity to develop refined and disciplined emotions and the instincts of a gentleman or a lady. They are, above all, places where the children of freemen each have a whole chance to live through those select experiences which will make them in turn American citizens of the highest type. The *Good American* is the one we like to speak of as *a 100 per cent American*.

A 100 per cent American has the three elements or units which go to make up 100.

Each is in its right place.

Each in turn multiplies the power of its next neighbor.

[There is first the I.

If it stands alone it represents a single American.
It represents the sterling qualities of independence
and self-reliance, initiative.

It represents self-control.

It represents the individual, with his ambition to
develop all the power his Creator gave him.

It represents his determination and his ability to
defend his own rights.

[Then there is the first O.

[This is not a cypher, in America, but the large O
of *opportunity*.

Added to the I it raises the power to 10, or many
times the power of either alone.

[The full development of the opportunities of each
increases the power of all.

[Then there is the other O.

Neither is this a cypher.

In America it represents the great O of *Obligation*.

Again it multiplies all that has gone before, raising
the unit to 100.

Each American has a chance to develop all his
powers through *opportunity*.

He now increases them by *coöperation*.

He voluntarily accepts that discipline and training
which turns the individual unit into part of a
team with the multiplied and combined strength
of the units.

10. A WHOLE CHANCE

All life in America, and especially all life in American schools, our Junior Republics, is for the final purpose of giving every citizen, young and old alike, A Whole Chance for the highest, noblest and best development of his own individual life, as well as experience and skill in the highest, noblest and best form of coöperative life for the welfare of *all*.

So, whether in classroom, on the athletic field, in the chorus, orchestra, or student organization, singly or in groups, the members of the Junior Republics are benefiting by the blessings which have come down to them through the ages from their forefathers, and are dedicating themselves, in their turn, to that *unselfish service* which is, for the future, through combined Opportunity and Obligation of *the United States of America* to add to the welfare of the freemen of the world.

11. THE ULTIMATE NATION

Dr. Richard Burton in his poem *The Ultimate Nation* says:

The destiny of nations: They arise,
Have their heyday of triumph, and in turn
Sink into silence—and the lidless eyes
Of fate salute them from their final urn.

How splendid—sad the story; how the gust
And pain and bliss of living transient seem;
Cities and pomps and glories shrunk to dust,
And all that ancient opulence a dream.

Must a majestic rhythm rise and fall

Conquer the peoples once so proud on earth?

Does man but march in circles, after all,

Playing his curious game of death and birth?

Or shall an ultimate nation, God's own child,

Arise and rule, nor ever conquered be;

Untouched of time, because, all undefiled,

She makes His ways her ways eternally?

APPENDIX

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

(Unanimously adopted, July 4, 1776; signed by 54 delegates, Aug. 2, 1776.)

When, in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient suffrance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute

Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies, without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: For protecting them by a mock Trial from punishment

for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world: For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent: For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of Trial by Jury: For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences: For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments: For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

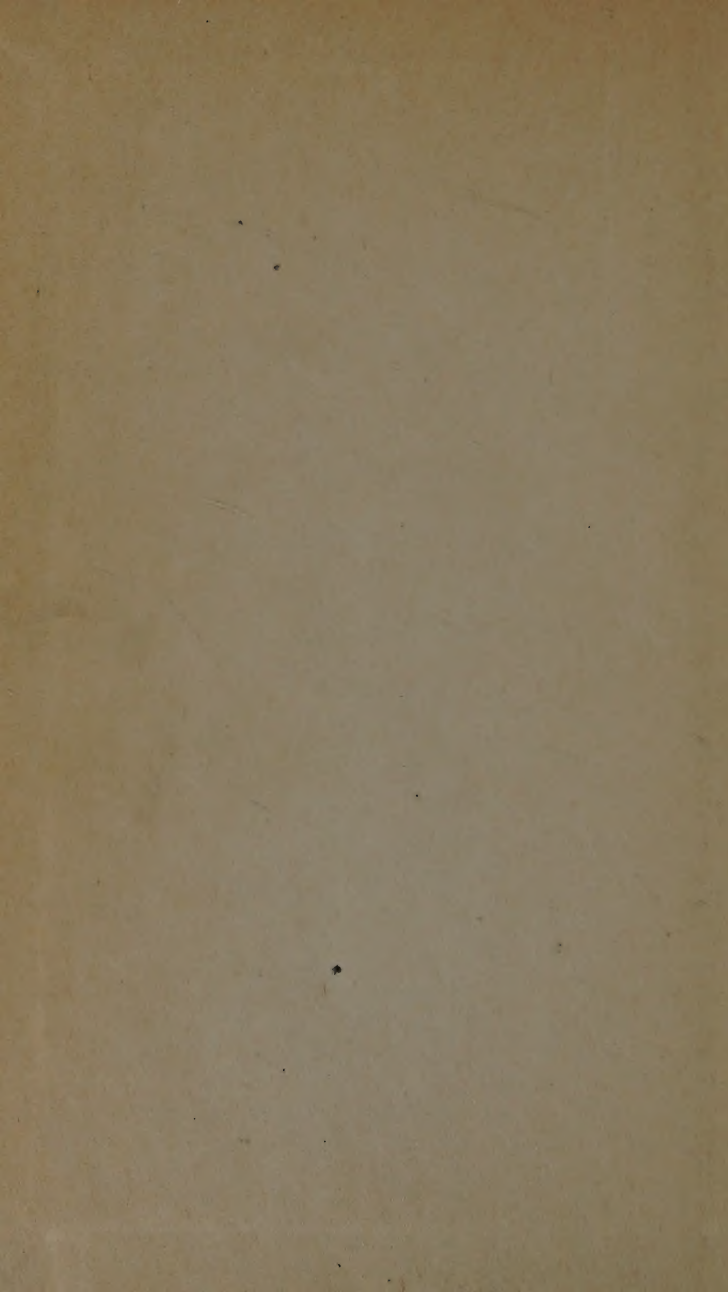
He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated Petitions have been answered by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must,

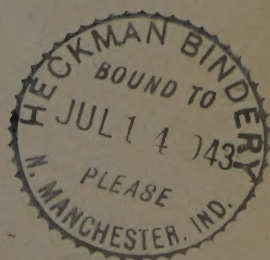
therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

WE THEREFORE, the REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN GENERAL CONGRESS, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly PUBLISH and DECLARE, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

THE END







**FRIENDS
OF ACPL**